KEEP STRONG

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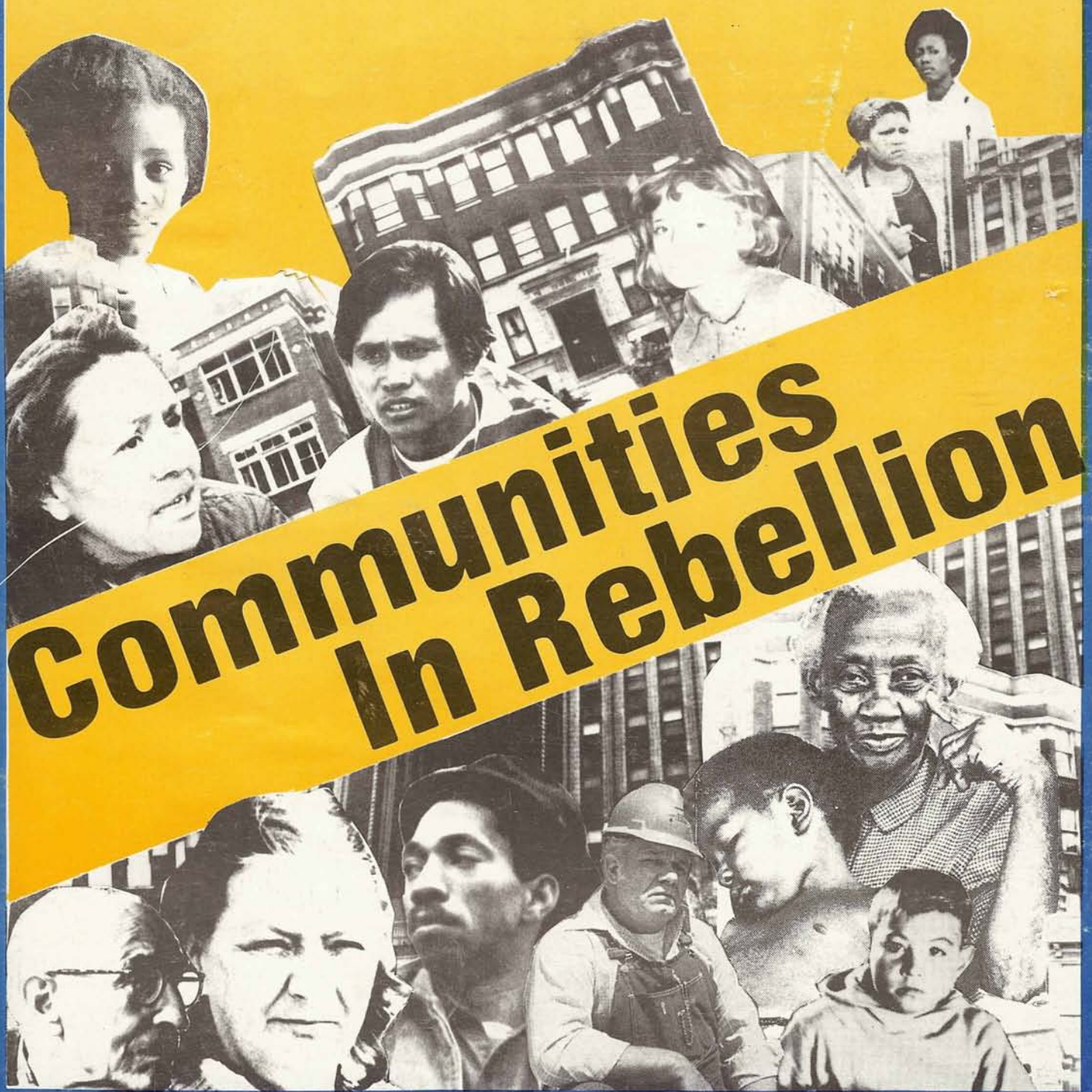

Communities In Rebellion

EDITORIAL

KEEP STRONG IS BACK!

Justice Graphics is proud to announce, with the publication of this issue, that ***KEEP STRONG MAGAZINE*** returns to regular publication on a quarterly (every three months) basis. Publication of the magazine had stopped temporarily in October of 1980 so that full attention could be put into the development of the **ALL CHICAGO CITY NEWS** newspaper. With the newspaper on a firm basis, the publication of the magazine can now begin again.

After this special "reintroductory" issue, ***KEEP STRONG*** will return to the format that made it so successful over its 5 year history. ***KEEP STRONG*** magazine's aim will be to reflect the day to day struggles of poor and working people to survive with dignity and to fight for justice—in Chicago's communities, in other communities in this country, and throughout the world. We firmly believe that the perspective of ordinary people deserves the dignity and respect of publication, because it is only the force of ordinary people that will bring about progress and justice.

IN THIS ISSUE...

This special issue of ***KEEP STRONG*** focuses on the problem of preparing for the 1983 city elections and the call for an All Chicago Community Summer Congress. The purpose of the Congress is to help develop a vocal consensus (agreement) throughout Chicago's communities on the priorities and programs the 1983 city administration and city council must be made to adopt. In the article **"Community Rebellion"** some suggestions are made towards achieving that consensus. These suggestions are offered in the spirit of the discussion that should be carried on citywide beginning now. The interview with Congressman Harold Washington is reprinted from the January, 1981, issue of **ALL CHICAGO CITY NEWS** and gives a clear insight into the history and present challenges of an independent, community based political movement in Chicago. Finally, there are three articles commenting on the potentials, dangers and challenges of the struggle of some of our people—Blacks, Latinos and Whites of the poorer classes.

KEEP STRONG MAGAZINE welcomes your letters, comments, criticisms, suggestions, and of course your support. Keep Strong, because the future we build will be our children's.

KEEP STRONG...

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KEEP STRONG MAGAZINE, is published quarterly by Justice Graphics, Inc., 1222 West Wilson Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60640 (312) 275-3822. June, 1982, Volume 6, Number 1. Subscriptions are $6 a year for individuals; $15 a year for libraries, schools and other institutions. ©Copyrighted 1982.
Editor—George Atkins.

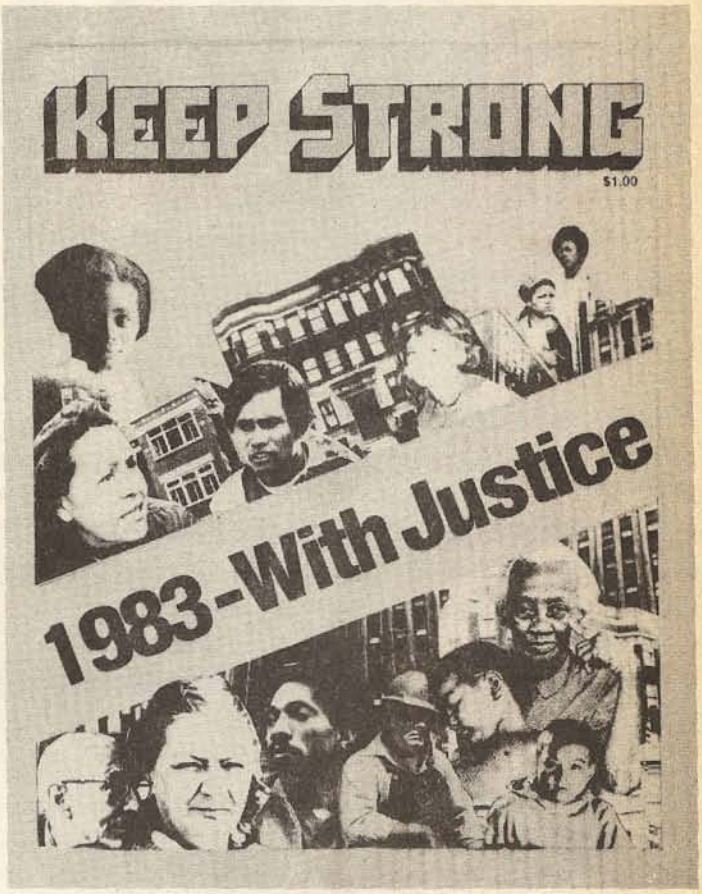
Communities

Chicago communities are places where poor people, working people, struggling people live. In some of these communities, other people **reside,** but it us who **live** there.

Chicago communities are places where the issues around the schools, jobs, housing, police and health care — the issues of the quality of our survival — are played out on the lives of our people. But Chicago communities are unfortunately, not usually the places where these issues are defined.

Looking back over the eight years of **Keep Strong** magazine and now **All Chicago City News**, we can see a clearly developing definition of these issues — housing, education, jobs, health care and police — being made by the people of Chicago's communities themselves that was rarely covered by the establishment media or spoken to by most elected officials. It is a definition of the issues that has led to a very specific and massive rebellion. The rebellion is so extensive that it brought about the defeat of the, until then, all powerful Chicago political machine and Mayor Michael Bilandic. It is so extensive that it will now most surely bring about the defeat of Mayor Jane Byrne.

Every time the people in one of Chicago's communities meet, educate themselves, organize and confront the city they have a lasting effect on the thinking of all of the people of their community, and often, of other communities. When **All Chicago City News** initiated the Family Advantage movements and began knocking on doors of thousands of people in communities all over Chicago, we found that the community rebellion was indeed deeply set in and that a common definition of the basic survival issues had developed. What we describe in this article are some of the highlights of the way a common definition of the issues and a city-wide community rebellion have come about.



The community rebellion is so extensive that it will now most surely bring about the defeat of Mayor Jane Byrne.

In Rebellion

Community Control

Although never publicly recognized by the media or the city's elected officials, the movement for community control went far beyond the police issue.

KEEP STRONG
Sunnyside Mall: Community Seeks Action
Six Years After The Murder Of Fred Hampton
Published by the Intercommunal Survival Committee
VOL.1 NO. 5 DECEMBER, 1975 25 CENTS
POLICE STATE?

Out of the rage of the 1960s there came a powerful demand for community control of police. A growing repressive spirit in government at all levels conditioned police to act like an occupying army in Black, Latino and poor White communities. Incidents of flagrant police brutality and murder were everywhere an issue in these communities, and ordinary people formed themselves into committees and organizations to demand an end to it. Their slogan was most often the demand for community control of police. The movement reached its peak after the murder of Fred Hampton by then States Attorney Edward Hanrahan's special police raiding squad. With only the semblance of organization, a massive campaign was mounted to defeat Hanrahan in the next election for states attorney. Hanrahan had been Daley's picked successor and one of the most powerful public figures in the political machine. His defeat represents one of the first and most significant times in which a long community struggle — for community control of police — built piece by piece in community after community, was turned into a conclusive political rebellion. The machine had been dealt a blow by the Chicago community movement from which it would never fully recover.

Although never publicly recognized by the media or the city's elected officials, the movement for community control in the communities went far beyond the police issue. "Community control" was raised by ordinary community people as they confronted central flaws in education, health care and employment opportunities. But it was in the area of real estate and housing that the community

Continued on next page.

movement for community control went directly to the heart of Chicago's power structure: and Chicago's problem. It began with urban renewal.

Development Without Displacement

When the University of Chicago obtained special permission and assistance from the city in expanding throughout Woodlawn, the people organized and protested.

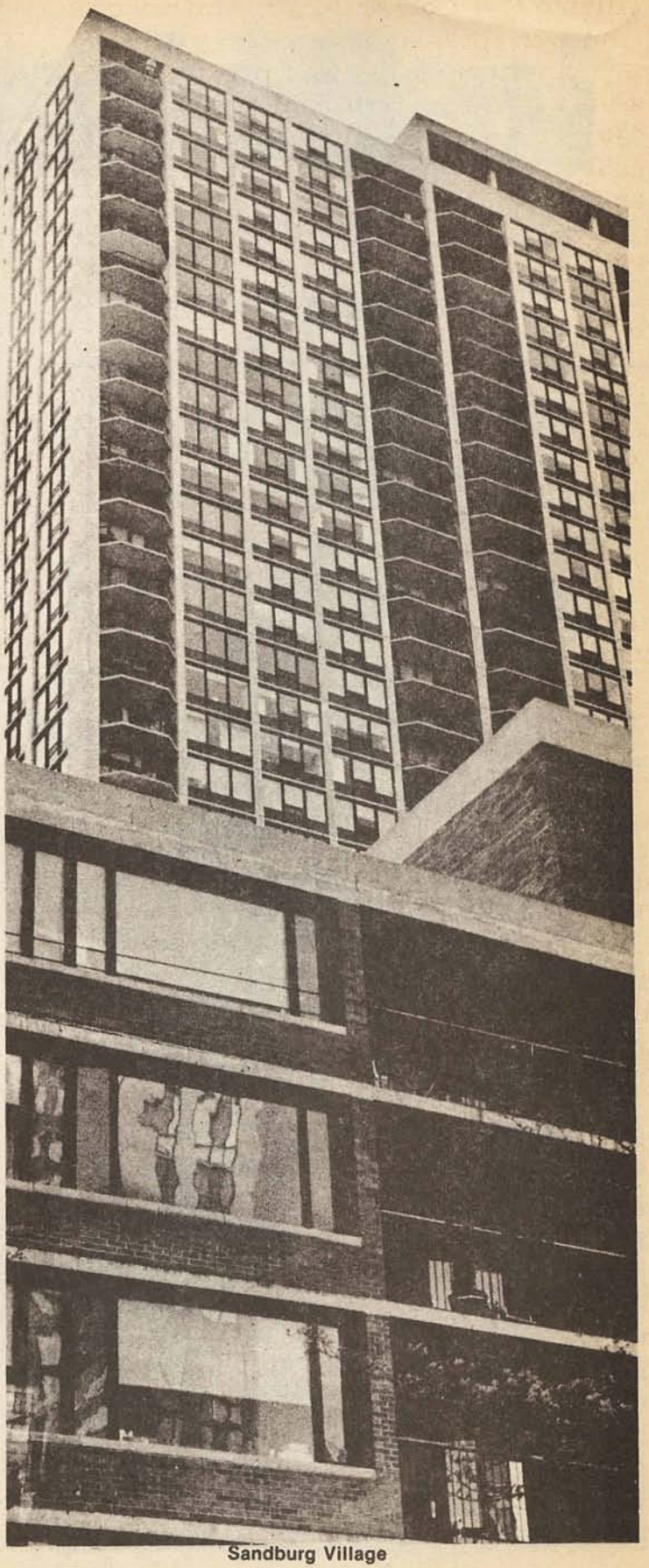
When the University of Illinois obtained special permission and assistance from the city in expanding into a predominately Italian community, the people organized and protested.

In both cases the destruction of communities and the displacement of families was brutal and caused untold suffering. The opposition was defined as "urban renewal" because federal urban renewal funds were often used in the massive displacements. Urban renewal was defined by the communities as "Urban Removal."

The Daley clique, which was dominated by large bank and real estate tycoons, moved to turn over the Near Northside Clark Street area to Arthur Rubloff for "less than a song." Carl Sandburg Village was erected where low and moderate income Puerto Ricans, Whites and Blacks had lived. They moved — were forced to move—to Lincoln Park and again were set upon by urban renewal and a host of developers large and small.

A five year struggle — one of the most sustained and militant in the city — strongly involved the youth of the community because of leadership like that of Jose Jimenez. It was met with a vicious repression, but left tens of thousands of people with the evidence that the city's policy for community development was not aimed to benefit them and did not include them.

Thousands took to the streets in the then mostly Southern White community in Uptown to resist the city's plan to demolish 1200



Sandburg Village

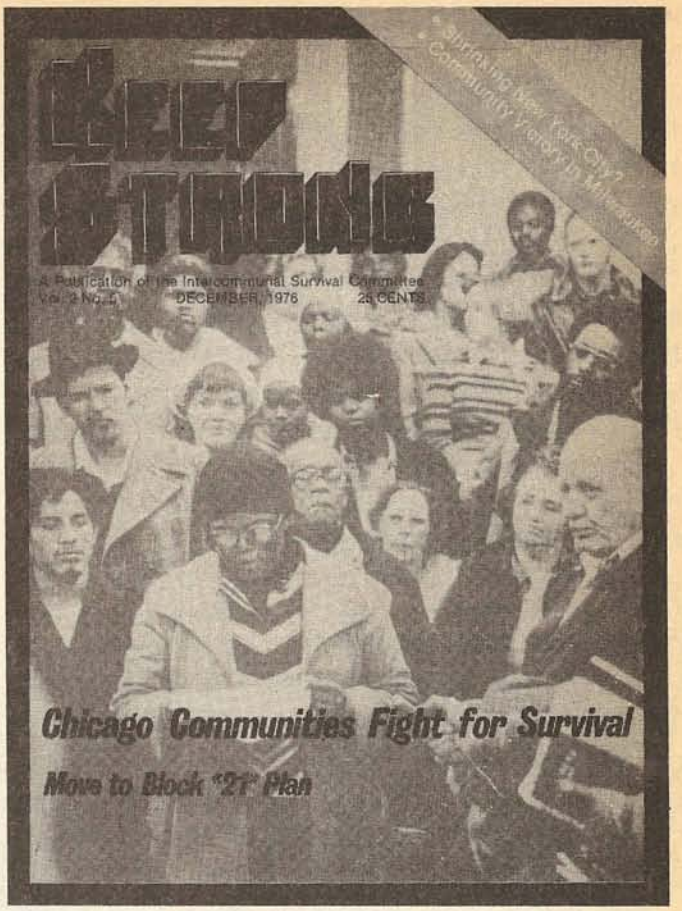
family apartments for the construction of Truman City College. In almost every community in the city the developers, using the city government as their personal agent, were attacking communities. It began to dawn on the people that there was in fact a policy and plan that the city had developed for Chicago's communities.

The Coalition to Stop the Chicago 21 Plan, involving organized community efforts from Near North, Westtown, Pilsen, Kenwood-Oakland, Uptown and 25 other communities, was formed in 1976. The Coalition identified the city's community planning guidelines which were then published in expensive volumes and called the plan for Chicago in the 21st Century, or "the Chicago 21 Plan." The plan had been developed by Daley's planning department with help from developers like Chaddick, Harry Weese and Arthur Rubloff and "oh so quietly" passed by the city council.

Briefly summarized, the plan called for the redevelopment of the city, starting from the Loop and moving outwards, neighborhood by neighborhood, removing the low and moderate income population and replacing them with middle and upper income white collar families and swinging singles.

After Daley's death, in the special 1977 special election, evidence of the Coalition's success was seen when every candidate except Bilandic opposed the Chicago 21 Plan. The leading voice was Harold Washington.

From 1977 to 1979, the developers and speculators in Chicago went wild. Millions of public dollars were poured into flashy, lucrative but poorly thought-out Loop developments, while the city's neighborhoods deteriorated. With the Chicago 21 Plan in place as official policy, and therefore the promise of fancy neighborhood developments everywhere, speculators moved on the housing in our communities like vultures. Buildings were bought by the thousands and held for "future deals" while no money was put back into them and they quickly deteriorated. Rents sky-rocketed, arson for profit hit a dozen communities leaving them looking



In almost every community in the city the developers, using the city government as their personal agent, were attacking communities. It began to dawn on people that there was in fact a policy and plan that the city had developed for Chicago's communities.

and feeling like war zones. Massive shopping centers were proposed and new real estate investment syndicates put together almost daily. Led by the American Investco and Continental Bank, the condo craze hit and put thousands more rental units off the market. The facts were that Chicago was losing 25,000 low and moderate income rental units a year, and only a few hundred were being built.

Public Housing

It is commonly agreed among long-time CHA residents that the CHA developments began deteriorating in 1964. By 1969, the residents had built their own organization, the Chicago Housing Tenants Organization, had forced recognition from Charles Swibel and the other commissioners and had forced HUD to withhold federal funds until money was spent on the necessary repairs and improvements which the tenants demanded.

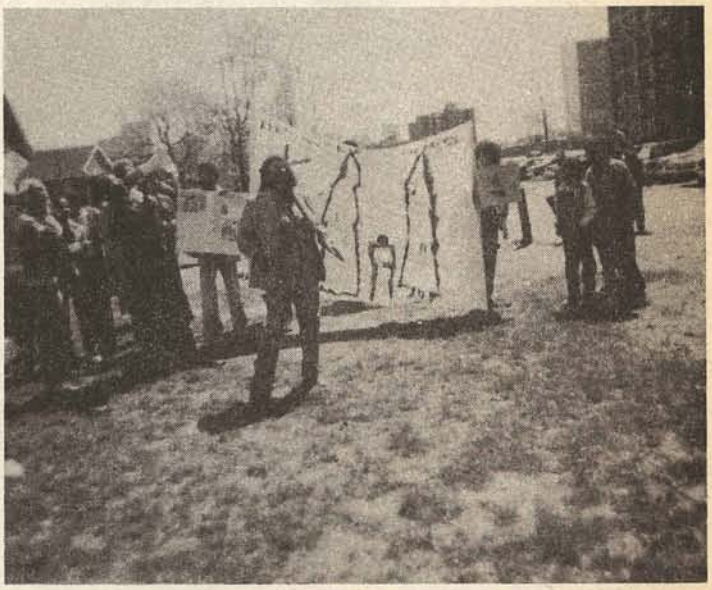
From the beginning of the CHTO movement, leaders such as CHTO Executive Director Marion Stamps had stated that the problems in CHA were part of a planned deterioration of CHA tied in closely with the Chicago 21 Plan. The plan, Stamps said, was to allow developments like Cabrini and Robert Taylor to become so bad that they could be evacuated and sold to private developers for next to nothing. It was not until 1982 that clear evidence of CHTO's prediction was to come to the front.

In 1981, CHTO and the public housing tenants movement generally was at a low ebb. A cleverly controlled set of "local advisory councils" had been established by CHA and an extensive patronage system existed by this time throughout the developments, which were still deteriorating at a rapid rate.

Under pressure from Near North developers, Byrne set a special crew of planners to work to "solve the problem of Cabrini-Green." Their solution, developed over a six month period was to evacuate the high rises, turn one or two into senior housing and to develop middle income coops in the low rises. The Bryne plan, still held back from publication, was the mirror image of a similar study carried out by a task force of Chicago United, an elite Chicago business group.

Byrne's problem was to convince 14,000 Cabrini residents that it was a good thing to "get out of town by sundown." A series of shootings around (not in) Cabrini, and massive publicity about gang warfare in the developments gave her what she needed. She moved into Cabrini with an army of body guards and gained national publicity for "fighting crime in the projects." Fortunately, for the sake of our sanity, CHTO and other groups managed to create several visible protests and pointed out that the mayor was making clear her intentions to "de-densify the projects." A policy of massive eviction was fought by CHA tenants but took a heavy toll as thousands were evicted from the major public housing developments, left to find housing in neighborhoods where it simply did not exist.

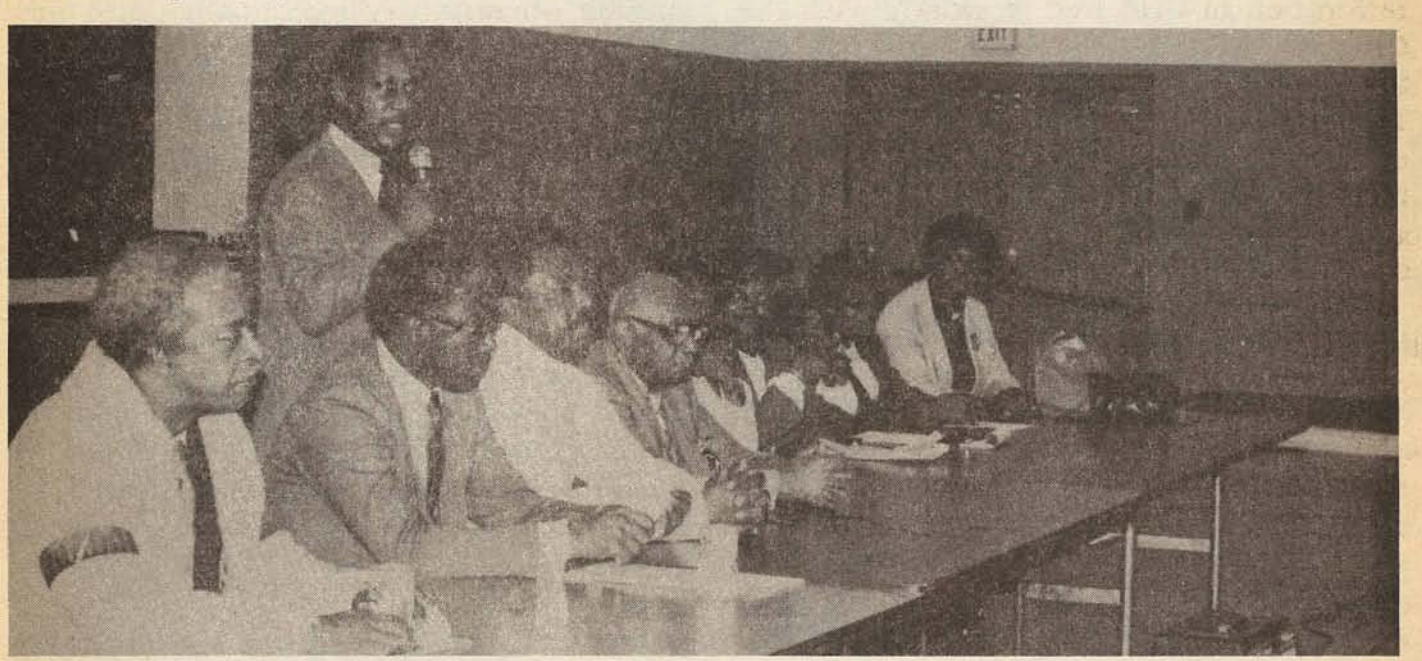
In 1982, a HUD report placed the blame for the deterioration of CHA housing squarely on Charles Swibel and demanded his removal. The mayor balked at turning out her closes advisor, a member of the "evil cabal"

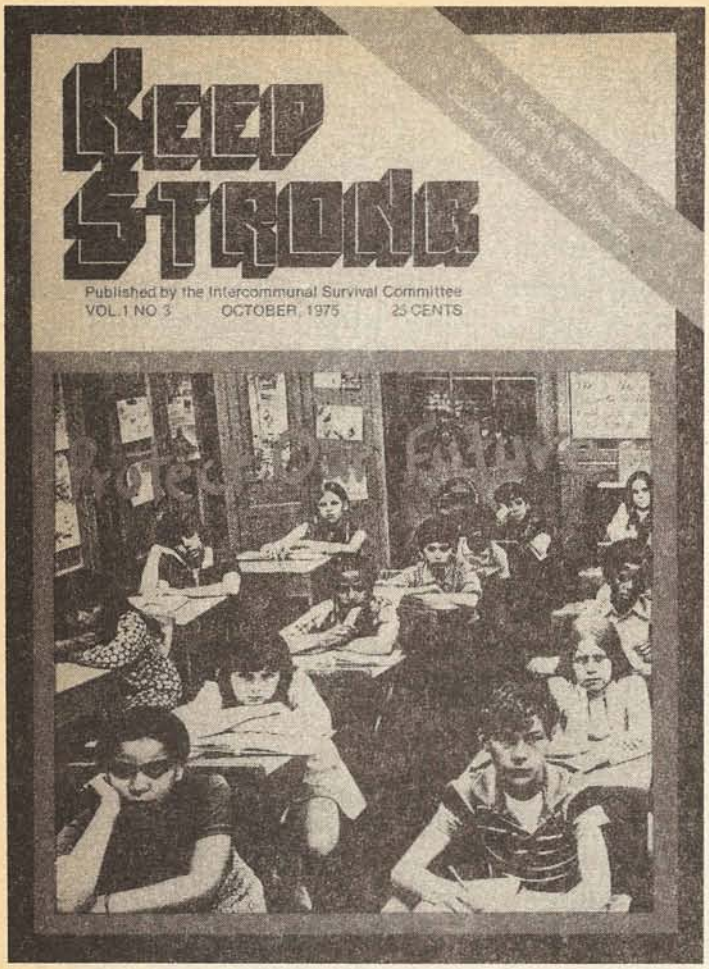


Byrne's reluctance to get rid of ally Swibel and her now exposed circus act at Cabrini have made her the main target of the CHA tenants rebellion.

she had originally campaigned against. Again CHTO, led by Marion Stamps, Rev. Dolores Watkins and others, conducted mass meetings, protests and demonstrations demanding not only the ouster of Swibel, but the formation of an elected tenant Board of Commissioners. The protest created an extensive consciousness among CHA tenants not only of the management problems, about which they already knew, but about the plans for CHA developments. Now open discussion was taking place about turning the developments over to private developers for redevelopment as middle and upper income housing. Continental bank top official Perkins now states publicly in the *Tribune* that there are two main roadblocks to the middle class redevelopment of Chicago from the Loop outwards: Robert Taylor Homes and Cabrini-Green."

As with the creation of the Department of Housing, Byrne had attempted to create the image of access by appointing Renault Robinson, a strong critic of the machine, to the CHA Board of Commissioners. But by the third year of her administration, Robinson has become one of her strongest and most vocal critics. Byrne's reluctance to get rid of ally Swibel and her now exposed circus act at Cabrini have made her the main target of the CHA tenants rebellion.





"Our children are not getting an education; they are not even learning to read."

Education

Chicago Public Education has been the center of controversy for two decades. More public participation was often generated by desegregation and minority representation issues than by the quality of education, but in the communities and among the parents the most talked about issue has been simply: "Our children are not getting an education; they are not even learning to read."

The close control of the school board by the mayor of the City of Chicago comes from the mayor's power to appoint the members of the school board. The incompetence of these politically controlled school boards became the central issue in the city when one day, after 70 years of turning over and renewing loans, the major Chicago banks "called in their debts." The schools were in a massive financial crisis.

In the political maneuvering that went on between the fifth floor of city hall and Springfield, again the parents' concerns were largely ignored. At the bequest of the bankers a "financial control board," Chicago's version of New York's "Big Mac," was established to oversee the school board's budget. And only because of the efforts of then State Senator Harold Washington was an amendment passed that called for the resignations of the school board members and for new appointments to be made.

The new Financial Control Board set up budget requirements that called for the most severe cutbacks in educational services and school closings the city had ever seen. Led by Nancy Jefferson, Dorothy Tillman and other school activists, the parents and communities mobilized and shut down school board meetings where school closings and cutbacks were to be passed, day after day. It was gradually revealed that the Board of Education was leasing valuable land to banks and large corporations for next to nothing. Intense study of Board of Education contracts revealed scandal after scandal. The issue was becoming clearer: was the Board of Education going to be a large public corporation run for the benefit of property leases, contractors and patronage — as it now was — or was the Board of Education going to be made to serve the education of the children.

Confined by principal-dominated advisory councils and PTA's, parent participation in the schools had been limited to side issues and bake sales, with a few notable exceptions. The Mollison Boycott, led by Local Advisory Council President Dorothy Tillman changed that, perhaps forever. Mollison par-

ents demanded first a closed campus, a common demand at that time among parent groups in Chicago. But more importantly, they demanded an investigation of the reason for their children's failing reading and math scores. A 90 percent effective boycott caused the Board to open the boods to the parents. They found and documented a failure to comply with the testing schedule which at the time allowed students to progress to new materials. The boycott continued with a series of well-publicized si-ins and demonstrations which ultimately led to the removal ofthe principal and the complete reworking of the curriculum procedure at Mollison.

Even more important than the Mollison parents' victory, the issue of the curriculum being used in the public schools had been raised. Concern over the Chicago Mastery Learning Reading System spread throughout Chicago's communities. The Parent Equalizers of Chicago was formed with Dorothy Tillman serving as its first president. The PEOC tirelessly ran workshops for parents on Mastery Learning, the special ed programs, the school board contracts and properties, the financial control board and on ways in which parents could make local advisory councils effective. The new parents' movement spread through the Southside, the Westside, Uptown, Bridgeport, Canaryville, Avondale, Westtown, Pilsen, Back of the Yards and dozens of other communities. A massive movement calling for an elected school board and public investigation of the mastery learning reading program forced Jane Byrne and her new superintendent, Ruth Love, on the defensive.

Again, inspite of the media and the elected officials, the communities had defined the issues around the public schools: they must be made to serve the children not the banks and patronage bosses, and they must be judged on their ability to give our children a quality, international global education, not on their ability to repay loans to the Continental and the First National banks.

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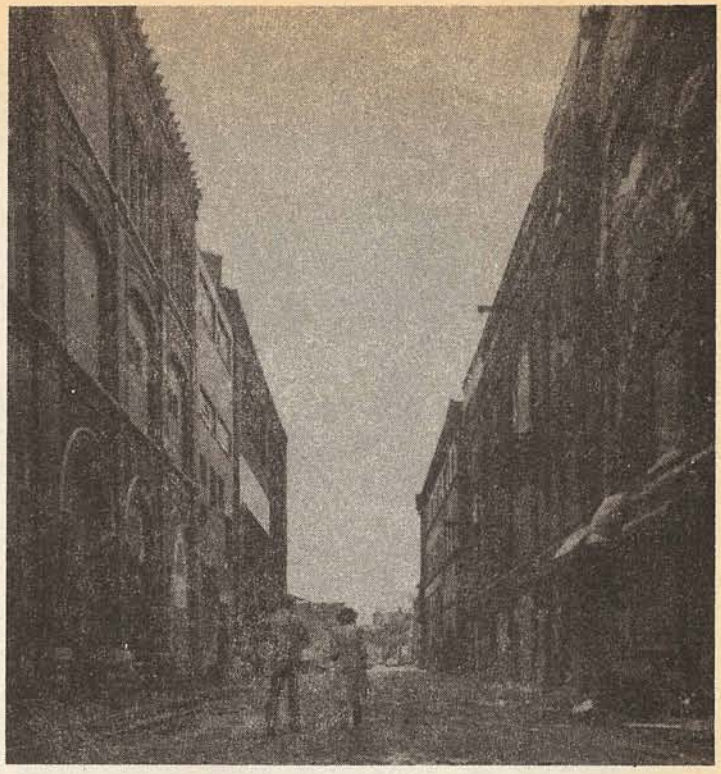
Jobs and Economic Development

The June unemployment figures place Illinois at 11 percent, one of the three worst states in the nation. Chicago's unemployment is the highest in the state, and in many communities real unemployment is as high as 50 percent. It is true that employment in Chicago depends on many national and even international influences: from the multinationals to the federal government. Yet the tragedy of Chicago's employment crisis is that it has been coming on for twenty years, and the city government has taken no action to turn it around. But it has been an issue defined in the communities of the city.

Chicago is a blue collar city. Its relative economic strength lay for years in the fact that over 50 percent of its businesses were small businesses in many differing areas of manufacturing, hiring 100 workers or less. Because of this diversity the city as a whole was not jarred by problems in any one industry or company, as for example Detroit was.

In 1977 the Coalition to Stop the Chicago 21 Plan challenged the city's overall economic development plan in the city council and in the courts. The Coalition focused on the city's quietly stated objectives to redefine Chicago as a white collar town, deemphasizing industry and manufacturing but emphasizing insurance, investment and convention business. The Coalition maintained, and proved in court, that the city had violated federal guidelines in constructing and operating according to a plan into which no community input had been allowed.

The objections of the Coalition to Stop the Chicago 21 Plan were taken up by a new coalition, the Employment Action Coalition. Through careful research, the Coalition documented the role of the city's Economic Development Commission. The powerful Economic Development Commission issued revenue bonds to businesses worth hundreds of millions of dollars, but the research showed that bonds were issued to companies which did not increase employment and often was the result of complicated real estate deals.



While 12,000 jobs a year were lost in Chicago, the Byrne administration . attempted to define the city's responsibilities for employment in terms of the CETA Program, and when that didn't work, to blame everything on Reagan.

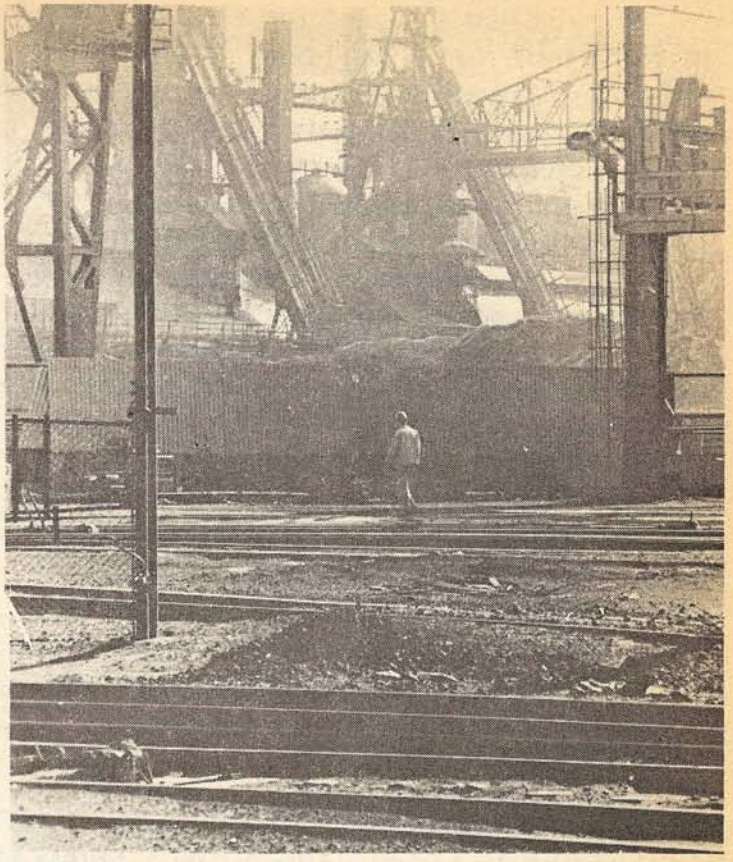
The EDC came under serious criticism for its failure to negotiate the location of a new Ford plant in Chicago. In fact, the evidence pointed up by the Employment Action Coalition showed that members of the EDC, including real estate tycoon Harry Chaddick, often encouraged the removal of industry from neighborhoods where more profitable real estate deals could be made.

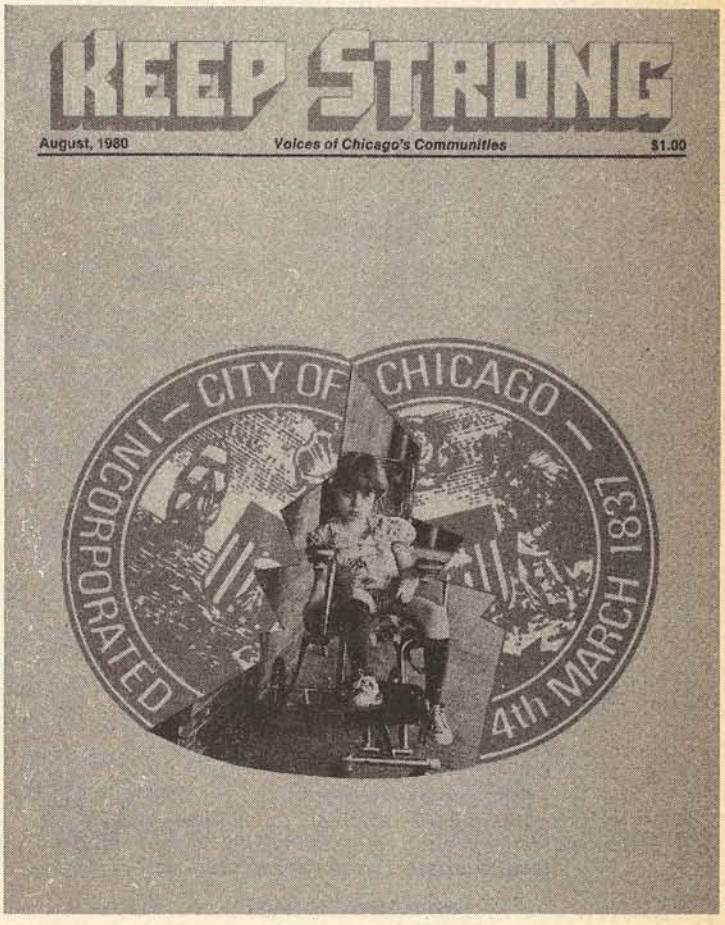
The clearest example of the city's policy came because of the work of the Pilsen Housing and Business Alliance. PHBA had set about a community study to determine what was needed to make the old brewery reattract industry. The companies that remained at the Brewery site cooperated with the study and the plan that was produced was taken to the mayor for her approval. But at the same time, powerful developers were looking at the

East Pilsen area and beginning to invest. They viewed manufacturing in the community as a "detriment" to the middle and upper income white collar community they envisioned. The city stalled for three years and has yet to cooperate with the East Pilsen community in restoring the Brewery to reattract industry.

In another example, the Save Our Jobs Committee, workers laid off when Wisconsin Steel closed, fought for three years but were unable to get the city to join in the effort to keep Wisconsin Steel open, despite an occassional flurry of empty promises.

While jobs a year were lost in Chicago, the Byrne administration attempted to define the city's responsibilities for employment in terms of the CETA Program, and when that didn't work, to blame everything on Reagan. But the rebellion in the communities is an informed rebellion. The Brewery, Wisconsin Steel, and the loss of hundreds of other jobs are fresh in their minds, losses that the city sat idly by and watched while pouring money into the Loop.





Health Care

The fight for better health care was already going strong in the 1960s under the slogan of "community control." In fact, community controlled health centers like Komed in Kenwood Oakland and Miles Square on the Westside came out of community battles.

The Board of Health remained a bureaucratic, unresponsive agency, opposing any community health initiatives through the seventies. Board of Health Commissioner Murray Brown actively combatted community efforts to criticize or improve services. For a while communities looked to outreach clinics established by Cook County Hospital, but the dismantling of the Health and Hospitals Governing Commission by the machine and the return of the county hospital to the County Board put an end to community involvement or community input into the development of health services in Chicago.

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Communities fighting for better health care were an important part of Bilandic's defeat and Byrne's election. The appointment of a new commissioner held out some hope of change that was quickly dashed on the rocks of a new political bureaucracy. The Board of Health began quietly shrinking.

Community protests in Westtown, Uptown, Woodlawn, and Southeast Chicago drew attention finally to the shrinking Byrne Board of Health budget. The staff has been cut by roughly 20 percent in the last two years, and many health stations in the city have been shut down. Most of the Board of Health Centers no longer accept new adult patients, and recently it was revealed that the Board of Health staff had been so far cut down that federal monies for special programs like WIC (Women, Infants and Children) were returned when the Board of Health was unable to sign up clients.

As medical fees soar and medicaid is cut to nothing, our communities face the most severe health crisis since the thirties. The response of the city has been to phase down the Board of Health. But Chicago's communities have not allowed them to do so quietly.

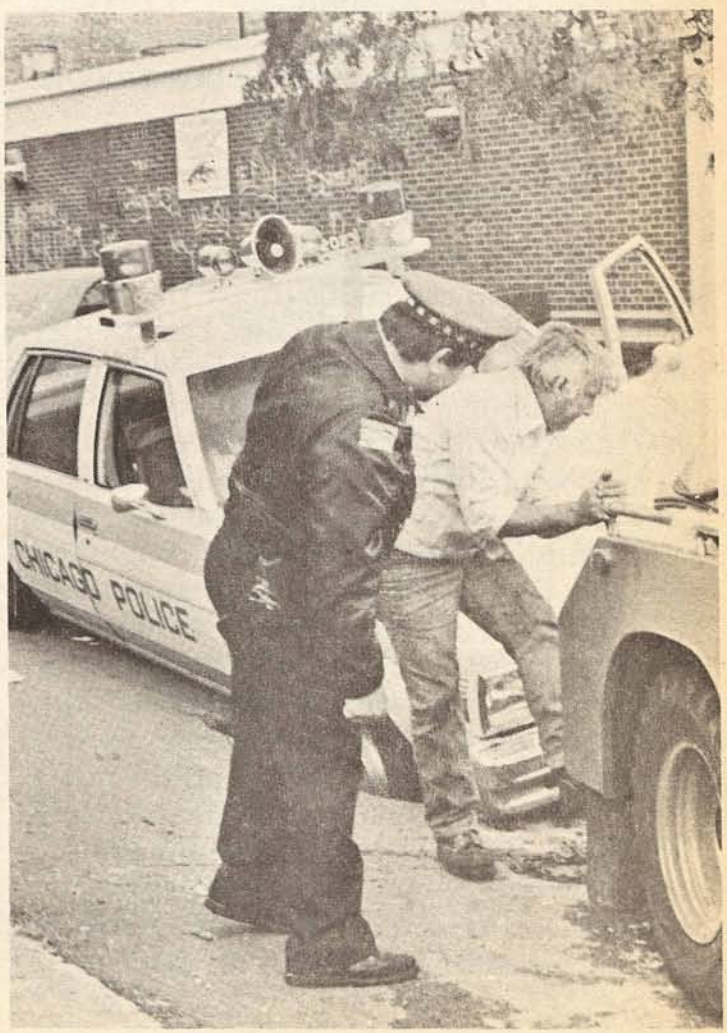
Police

After the community control movement of the sixties, and the increasingly poor economic conditions, the destruction of communities by developers and speculators caused a serious increase in crime. Police officials preyed on the fears of people in the community to force an end to protests against police abuse.

Community protest against police brutality was replaced with community demands for better police service in high crime areas. But residents often found that it was as dangerous to call the police and have them come as it was when they didn't respond. The shooting of Wallace Davis, the beating deaths of Richard Ramey and Paul Pearce, both brought to light by community action, have brought the issue of police abuse to life again, but the demand for more effective control of crime remains.

City Services

Basic city services, like public transportation, the maintaining and cleaning of streets and the collection of garbage, were a major issue in the 1979 elections. Community protest over the closing of certain bus lines, the failure to repair streets in some areas, the poor collection of garbage or extermination of rats are sometimes responded to by the Byrne administration although not often. Evidently the mayor remembers the way Bilandic handled — or mishandled the snow. But the more basic issues of planning for steady long-term improvements in the neighborhoods has not been addressed. The city continues to put its money into the redevelopment of the Loop and when neighborhood improvements occur wary communities now look, and usually find, some major developer is stalking behind.



Reagan

Mayor Byrne was the only mayor of a major city who supported the budget program proposed by Reagan, shifting money from social programs to military defense. "Give Reagan's policies a chance," she said, and drew the anger of the communities of Chicago. Chicago's communities have been among the worst hit by welfare and social security cutbacks. But Chicago's communities are also filled with people who believe in justice, including many Viet Nam Veterans who opose U.S. involvement in El Salvador and U.S. support of South Africa. The rebellion against Reagan from the communities is set also against the mayor who would not take leadership in opposing Reagan.

"Let Them Have Festivals"

It is in the light of the growing community rebellion that Mayor Byrne's attempts to divert our attention with a constant and expensive barrage of festivals and parades in the Loop are stirring up such a great anger against her. In the communities she is compared to Marie Antoinette when she said "Let them eat cake." The mayor's attempt to buy Black clergy and to make occasional media displays of giving out gifts from her personal political funds similarly bring anger.

The people of Chicago's communities do not like to be held in contempt. We have defined the issues through tireless struggles. We have not been heard by those who hold elected office. We will replace them in 1983.

"All Chicago Community Summer Congress"

Presents a

Challenge to Traditional Chicago Politics

All Chicago City News and the Family Advantage Movement have announced plans for the convening of a summer long congress. Enlisting participation from 60 different communities in the city, the aim of the congress is to establish a clear consensus on the platform and programs that city council and Mayoral candidates will have to support to gain community support in the 1983 elections.

Convenors of the congress, which in-clude many community organization leaders as well as Family Advantage activists, say that there already exists a wide agreement on the priorities the city must adopt to meet the needs of the neighborhoods. According to *All Chicago City News* Editor Slim Coleman, "Community action has defined the positions on the hard survival issues of housing, education, health care, schools, employment and economic development. These positions were really already defined and the machine's ignoring of these positions resulted in the defeat of Bilandic and the election of Jane Byrne. But Byrne has slapped us in the face at every turn. We must now have a formal, well-publicized consensus city-wide to hold up as a standard to every candidate running. We cannot afford another Mayor Byrne."

The congress is the result of the work of the Family Advantage Movement which reached into 43 wards in the city while building campaigns for new housing and education ordinances. "We found that the people in communities everywhere had clear and innovative ideas for changes in city policy, were convinced that the Byrne administration had turned its back on the neighborhoods, and were ready to join in unity with other communities to bring about a change in City Hall and City Council."

The Congress will begin in June with Platform committee meetings on housing, education, employment, health care and education. In July, assemblies will be convened in most wards of the city to discuss positions and elect delegates to the General Assembly. In August, in addition to the August 28th General Assembly, the Congress will convene a series of debates on the issues in different parts of the city.

Participants in the summer long Con-gress are required to register and there is a $1 registration fee.

"...I have no serious hopes that Reagan will moderate himself domestically. In terms of foreign policy, if anything, he will be an abrasive factor which might even make the situation of world peace more tenous."

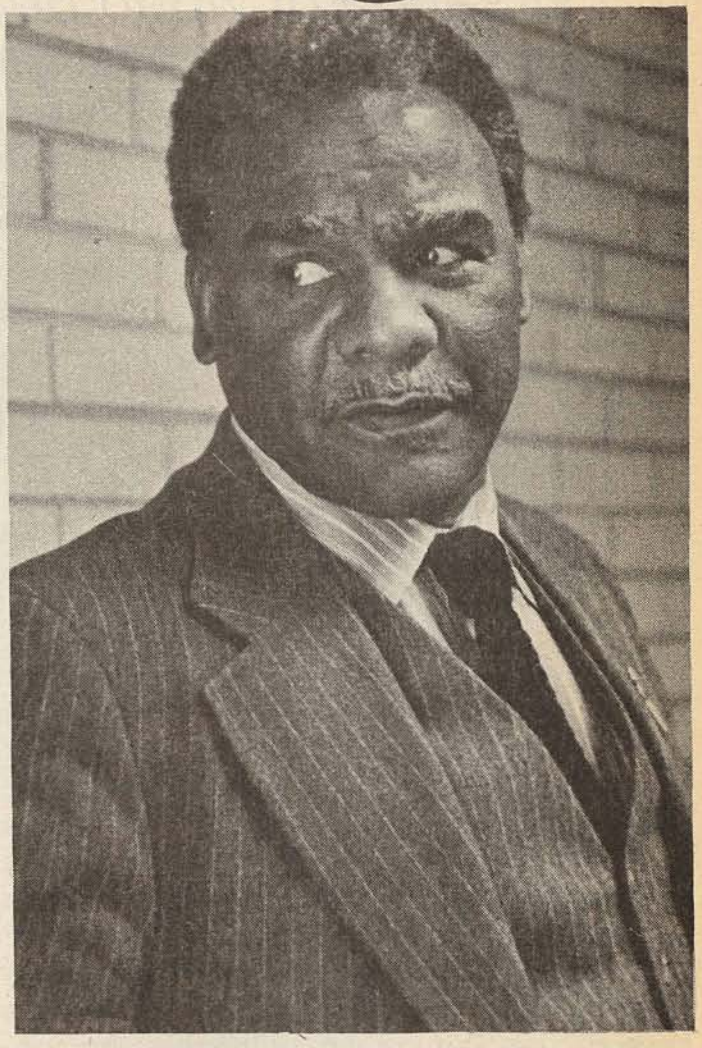
In the following interview with Harold Washington, reprinted from *All Chicago City News*, the Congressman was speaking only a few weeks after Ronald Reagan had been elected President and Richard Daley had been elected States Attorney. *Keep Strong* is reprinting the interview because it shows clearly that Congressman Washington, unlike so many of his counterparts in the Democratic Party, was uncompromising from the beginning in his fight against the Reagan movement and incisively clear-sighted about the disastrous effect which the Reagan presidency would have on struggling people in this country and on the movements for justice and peace throughout the world.

Keep Strong is reprinting the interview because in it the Congressman explains the development of the independent political movement in Chicago in a way we have not often seen elsewhere in print. The independent movement of which Congressman Washington speaks has grown steadily in the last two years, in spite of the diversions he warns against in the interview. It has won a major victory in the 17th ward Allan Streeter election. But it could not have grown so successfully without Washington's support and leadership.

Most important, the independent political movement which Washington describes here, and of which he has become the clearly established leader, has its roots in the communities and in the community movement. The issues of the Washington led independent movement, are the issues of the community movement. The concerns, the heartbreaks, the victories, the struggles, are one.

Interview With

Congressman Harold Washington



Question: "Reagan—the Man and the Movement." Do you believe that Reagan will moderate his conservatism following what some people say is an historical trend of presidents who are of one extreme or another before they are elected, or do you think he will actually attempt to implement the very conservative Republican party platform?

Congressman Washington: There is some truth to the statement that presidents, left or right, seem to level off in office. That's no axiom. There is some evidence historically to indicate that, but it doesn't necessarily hold true. I don't think it was true of Nixon. He didn't level off. He had a goal and a program, and he moved directly toward it. His pap in the direction of Black business, for instance, I don't think was a moderation. I think it was part of an over-all scheme. He moved in a very direct line of cutting back federal involvement in local programs by revenue sharing, cutting back on housing programs and so on.

That statement was made about Eisenhower, but I don't think it held true, for example, in his handling of the enforcement of the 1954 Supreme Court decision in Little Rock. It was not a moderate move. It was simply a matter of civil disobedience and a threat to the court system which any president, left or right, would have met. So there may be evidence of that statement that presidents "level," but I would not argue that it is true and I don't think it is extreme enough or clear enough to draw that conclusion.

In so far as Reagan the man is concerned, his past is muddy in terms of his performance in the only position he has held in government. When he was governor of California it was somewhat difficult to say that he moderated his position. Did he perhaps just go with what was a **fait accompli** in light of a strong Democratic control in that state? I am of the opinion that he had no choice in terms of his moderate approach. Rather we should say that the Democratic legislature, which at that time was relatively progressive, gave him certain programs which he didn't have much choice but to go along with. So I don't think it's too clear where he stands on that evidence.

His statements, I think, are better evidence

The question is, can he carry out the program as a person. But then you have to look at who's behind him. The forces behind him are perhaps more dangerous than he is.

of his position. All through the years he's taken a strong negative attitude toward government control of human services areas. He has taken a very strong pro-military, jingoistic position. He's always argued for beefing up the military. He was for the Vietnam war—still is presumably. So the evidence all indicates that he is definitely an extreme conservative. His fallacies and his faults are there. He is not overly energetic or overly bright. But there is no question about the man's stamp.

I don't think one could gauge his posture, whether he heightened that position or lessened it, from the campaign. He took a smooth general sort of approach to the issues and ducked most of the hard questions. He continued to maintain that he would support beefing up the military, that he would cut back taxes to the tune of $90 billion in three years, and that he would, as far as he could, cut certain services—unnamed because he wasn't dumb enough to name them—but he would let those services devolve to the states.

The question is, can he carry out the program as a person. But then you have to look at who's behind him. The forces behind him are perhaps more dangerous than he is. By the forces behind him I don't mean everyone that voted for him—labor was split, they were confused and angry because of the unemployment situation—but I mean he has a hard core right wing element of the Sun Belt conservatives which control most of the military-industrial complex in this country. He has behind him the oil barons in Texas. It is clear he is anti-conservationism. He wants to cut down and remove some of the regulatory

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powers the federal government has over industry. Some of those powers perhaps should be lessened but he cuts to the bone when he talks about removing restrictions on environmental control, OSHA problems and things of that nature.

The people behind him I would think are more militantly conservative than Reagan. We have some indications of where he is going by the recent announcements of certain major committees. Orrin Hatch, for example, is going to be the chairman of one of the major committees, and he's enunciating quite clearly that he's going to move in the direction of a constitutional amendment to abolish affirmative action. He didn't say that this would be federal or local or a combination of both, but that was his position. Whether or not he can do that is debatable, but whether he does it or not, he will move in the direction of lowering the windfall profit taxes, which will mean that the subsidies for those who can't afford energy will be cut and even more importantly, if I may say so, that the available funds for the development of energy alternatives research won't be available in the same form and substance for the federal government. So we have to assume that Reagan will move along the lines of his conservative image and that the function of the Congress, which unfortunately is perhaps as conservative as he is won't be to put a brake on him.

As for the first question, I have no serious hopes that Reagan will moderate himself domestically. In terms of foreign policy, if anything, he will be an abrasive factor which might even make the situation of world peace more tenuous.

Question: Do you think that the direction of the Democratic party will be to the right, and if so how do you think the people of the central cities, who comprised Carter's strongest vote, should relate to it?

Congressman Washington: I am afraid that the Congress will move to the right. As a matter of fact the Congress was far to the right of Carter. They emasculated his urban program almost completely, they held up his energy program, they made it almost impossible for him to come up with a sound fiscal policy because he never knew where he was with the Congress. That might have been the result of his ineptness or of a combination of his ineptness and a conservative Congress.

So I see the Democratic party moving to the right; it's a question of degree. The only thing that will stop them is the uninvolved masses, that 48% that didn't vote, most of whom I think are probably far to the left of this Congress and this president.

Now Congress clearly—not because of the ascendency of the Republican party, but of the nature of the people in that ascendency—has got to become more conservative. When you look at some of the major committee chairmen and Democratic senators who were defeated you will see that most of them were of a very positive stripe and, even if conservative, were inclined to move in a left direction. Culver of Iowa is perhaps the least known but one of the best. You've got McGovern whose reputation as a social planner has been well known. You had Church who had a sensible attitude toward foreign policy. There was Birch Bayh who by any stretch of imagination was a far-sighted conservative. The defeat of these men plus the defeat of Bredemus in the House, I think, is going to be a signal for a lot of Congressmen or a lot of people who are potential Congressional candidates to move to the right. That has been historically true. I think they are afraid that if they don't move to the right they will be in jeopardy not just

from the moral majority, which led the fight against the men I just named, but against a conservative trend that is brewing in this country. I don't want to state that the conservatives of a Reagan stripe are in a majority. They aren't, but they're organized. They understood how to manipulate and maneuver the media. They have mastered the direct mailing devices. They understand how to jockey the symbols. They have injected into the national debate such non-debatable issues—issues that shouldn't be in the national agenda as abortion, the right to life, prayers in school and those sorts of things which are just not issues to be talking about in the political arena. But if they're jockeying them back and forth as they have done, they are going to continue to frighten existing Congressmen and potential Congressmen.

So I see the Democratic party moving to the right; it's a question of degree. The only thing that will stop them is the uninvolved masses, that 48 percent that didn't vote, most of whom I think are probably far to the left of this Congress and this president. Unless they become involved locally and nationally this drift to the right, which includes the control of the country, will continue to affect the Congress of the United States.

If it moves to the right, I would hesitate to advocate a third party movement knowing how those things eventuate, but I would suggest that they would have to take over the local machinery of those parties and build from the ground up, because that great mass of the 48 percent I think would probably be found in the major industrial cities where you had a systematic turning off against a process because they feel it simply won't work. I won't argue that it will work, but it certainly will never work unless they get involved. So I would suggest that the masses of people, not the "silent majority," but the "turned off substantial minority" that did not vote would have to become involved. Short of their involvement, and taking over the Democratic party machinery locally up to the state level, I don't see any future in the Democratic party, and that future, at best, is dismal.

Question: Turning to Chicago, how do you see Rich Daley's election in relationship to future political power movements in Chicago?

Congressmen Washington: I see the Daley ploy as a direct threat to the development of the continuing of independent politics in this city. The independent political movement has been going on at a steady, slow pace. It reached its crescendo in this city when Singer led a band of independents that took over the Chicago contingent of the Democratic convention in 1972. It came into more visible view when Singer ran against Daley and got a tremendous percent of the vote—I think it was close to 40 percent. Up to that point you had such fine people as Mikva, Mann, Netsch and Simpson—I don't want to leave out any, but those were the kind of independents who were coming to the floor in local government within both the city, state and to a certain extent national arenas.

My second responsibility, which may be my primary responsibility, is to continue to develop as best as I can this independent grouping that has been going on in this city for the last 25 years at least.

Quietly at the same time there was a Black independent movement. People didn't call it that, but it was. It was overshadowed by the White liberal independent movement, and such men as the Hubbards who ran and beat the machine and ran a credible race against Dawson; a name you haven't heard of, Dejenet, who ran against Dawson in the late 60's and took the south end of the district; Sidney

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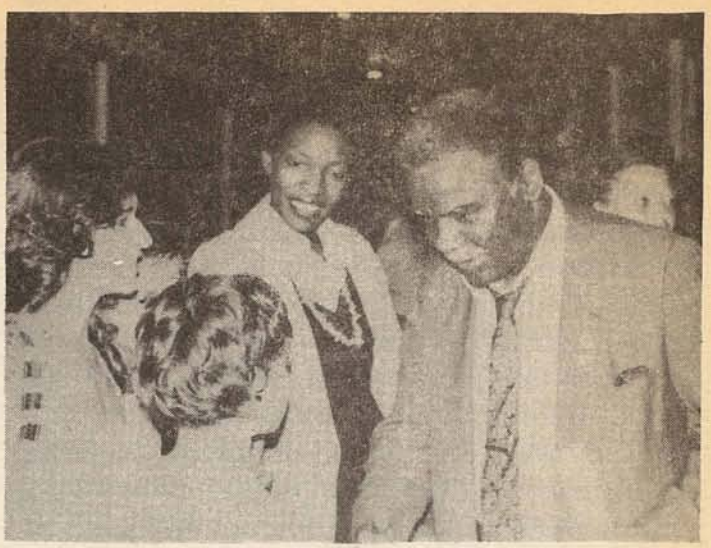

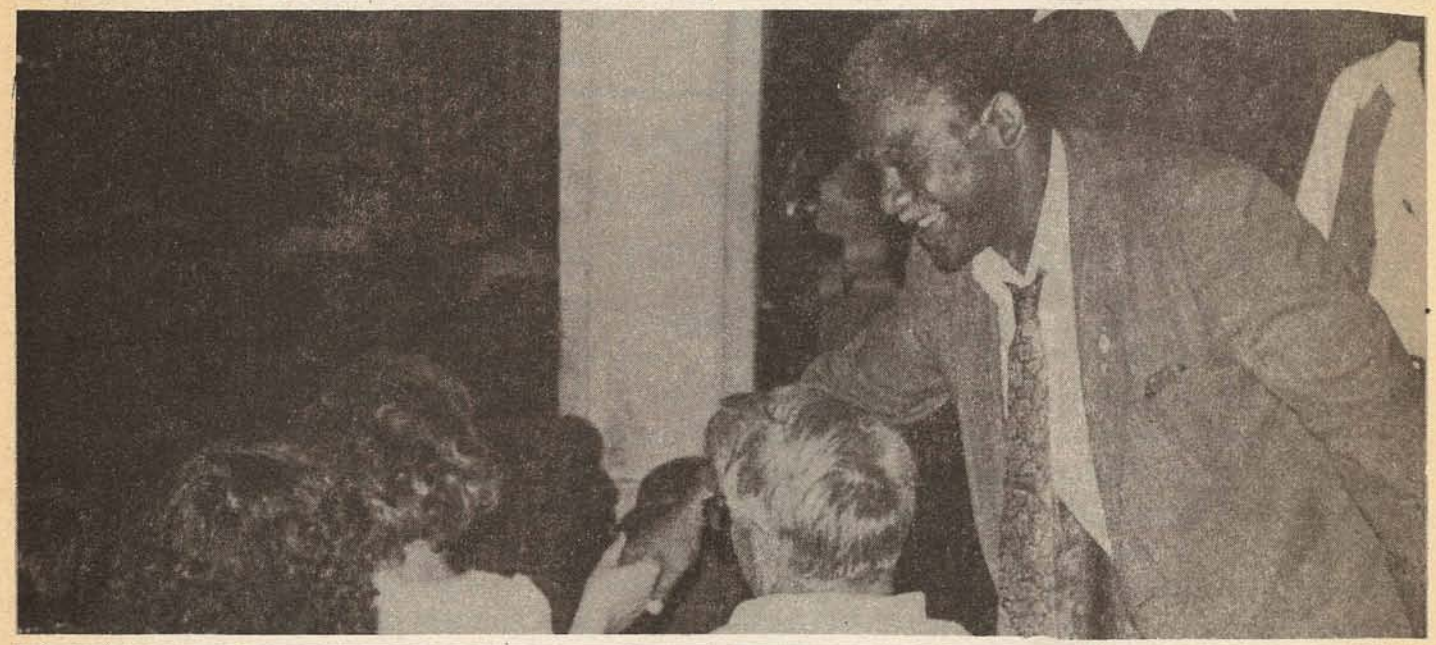

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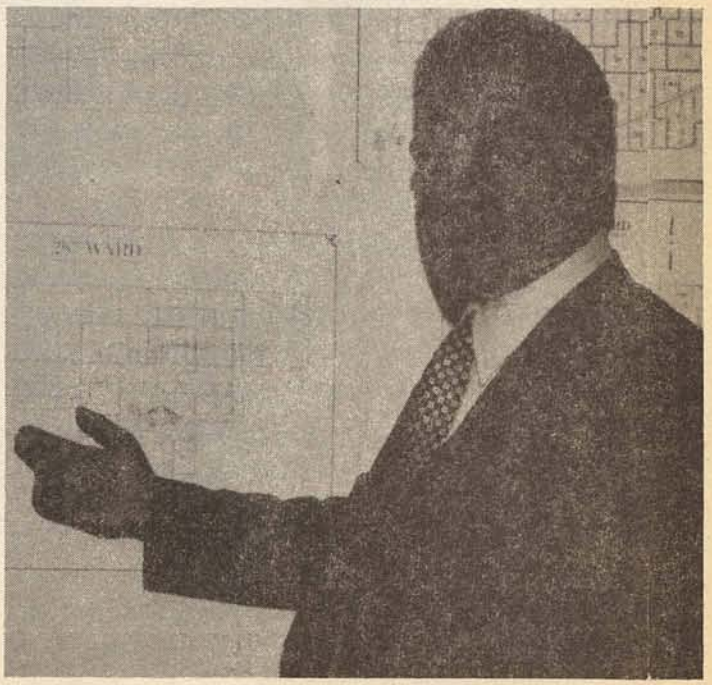


Jones, who forced the machine to heel and took over the aldermanic position in the 6th ward. Jones was followed by a clear independent Sammy Rayner. Bill Cousins won the 8th Ward and got an outright hold on it until he decided to go up into the judgeship.

Then came the Peggy Smith Martins and the Dick Newhouses, the Carol Mosely Brauns and other people of that stripe. The independent movement I think became most visible in '76 under a person who was not an independent, Metcalfe, who the independents rallied to, Black ones and White ones. That gave impetus to the Black independent movement. Metcalfe grabbed the brass rail, then let it go for some reasons I can't explain, and he decided to stay where he was to entrench himself within the machine.

Then you had Daley's death and my mayoral campaign of 1977 which was a rebuilding process. How effectively we rebuilt or built or tried to continue the Black independent movement is yet to be seen, but clearly something came out of it. There was a direct line between that and the March 18th primary election in which I won the 1st district, and Gus Savage, who had managed my mayoral campaign in '77 and had helped put together the 2nd district, took that district. Bob Shaw, who managed my mayoral campaign in the 9th ward, carried that ward, took the aldermanic and committeemanship race, whether we call it independent or not is debatable, but he was running under the stripe of the independent movement. The same thing happened with Niles Sherman in the 21st ward who managed that ward for me in the mayoralty, and he then took both offices. On the West Side, Danny Davis did it. Carol Braun won and came back into office; Newhouse ran unopposed; and Monica Faith Stewart surfaced and beat the living beejeebees out of the machine.

So the Black independent movement was picking up steam. The most significant thing about the March primary, however, is that the combined Washington vote in the 1st district was 70 percent independent and the combined Davis-Savage vote in the 2nd district was about 65 percent independent.

So clearly the independent movement in the Black community was moving. By independents we don't mean to say that they are independent of party label. The independence came about in the primaries as was true in the White independent movement. So in a sense the White liberal independent movement has abated, and the Black independent movement has picked up steam. Then here comes the election of 1980 and the states attorneys race.

I think what happened was a splintering of the Black independent movement. Some of the most prominent Black independents, or at least one of them, joined Daley, but most of them either supported Carey or were quiet on the issue. What happened, however, is that some of the Black independents gave credibility in the Black community to Daley by virtue of their endorsements which were blind and didn't go into his record at all. I think what has happened is that they have given momentum to Daley who, notwithstanding what anyone says, is going to run for mayor in 1983 and is going to try to take over the Democratic party. There is nothing in his record that would lead any thinking person to assume that he would do anything other than put together a prototype, a replica, of his daddy's and Cermak's machine, which obviously is not dead but needs only some readjustment in terms of his goals.

So what I'm saying is that in the long run the Daley race for states attorney has put a damper on the independent movement in this city and in particular it may be a detriment to the Black independent movement. That can be thwarted, of course, because clearly Black voters voted with a high degree of sophistication.

In the first place, in Chicago, about 75 percent of the Black registered voters turned out, which is astounding. Over 90 percent voted for Carter; 96 percent in the 1st district voted for me, and from all late returns about 90 percent voted for Savage. But they were sophisticated enough to cut Daley down to about 70 percent, and would have cut him,

deeper except for the 29th legislative district where they had a new punch card system and not time to master it, so that one was almost forced to vote straight Democratic.

Although the Daley victory was a success it is by no means "open sesame" for him to move in the Black community and organize. However, there are Blacks who evidently have aligned themselves with Daley and have indicated they will continue to. Well, they have got to be taken on, and they have got to be taken on not in terms of the merits of Daley or Carey, or their own, but in terms of what do Blacks and independents see as the future political structure of this city. Do we want to take the risk of letting a Byrne or a Daley move along the same machine tradition as heretofore or do we want to go off in new directions and form a coalition, which I think is very possible, between Blacks, some Latinos, some liberal Whites, Appalachian Whites; and I think the latter is a viable source of recruitment. Do we want to move in that direction or shall we fall back into machine-type politics? That's the issue, and that's the debate which has to go on raging, I hope, in the Black community and throughout the city of Chicago. It is not a racial fight. It's an independent fight. But since what I have tried to say indicates that the seeds of independence in this city are primarily in the Black community, then it follows that the leadership of that movement should come from there. But it should be a coalition, obviously.

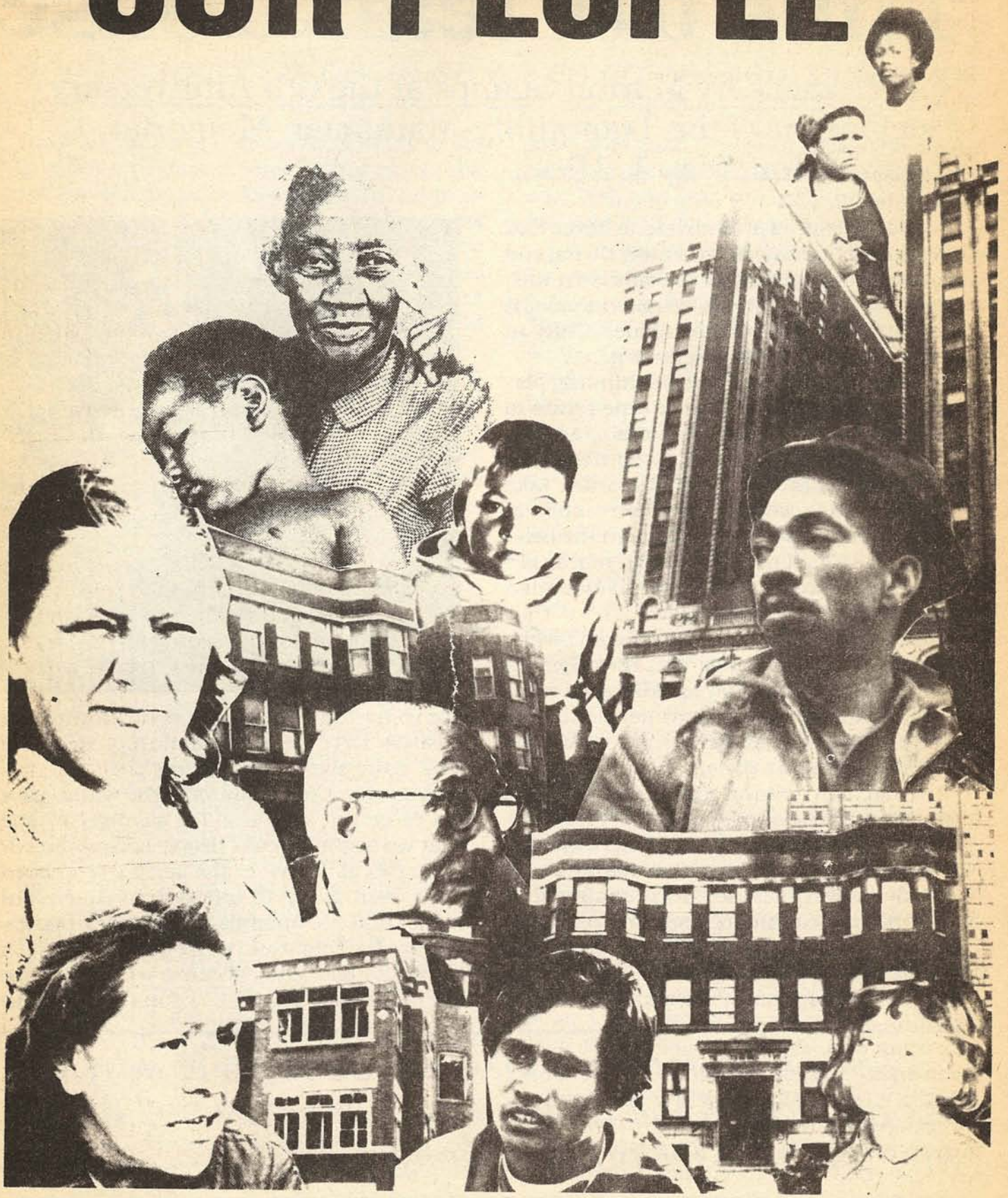
Question: Would you comment on the significance of your own election and on the main issue that you will concern yourself with during the next few years?

Congressman Washington: Well, I have touched on the significance of my election and of Gus Savage's election and all the other elections of Blacks in the last few years of independent Democratic stripe. It represents a continued movement and a dual development in the Black community of a gradual increasing involvement, brought about to a great extent by the Byrne debacle, the primary election which was not a debacle and the subsequent school problems which came about. It's an awakening, an arousal on the part of Black voters. So our election I think represents that. I would like to think that I had the sterling qualities with which I would have won under any circumstances. But even if I have them or didn't have them notwithstanding, it was the movement in this case clearly, not the man or men or women who were involved. I think that will continue.

What will we do in Congress? Well, I have never told people that my election represented a new world. I have no illusions about that, and I don't want to create any. But I did say that I would do two things: one is that I would try to be a first-rate Congressman in the legislative sense, with all that that implies, and try to bring to the national scene an additional voice, a positive progressive voice, that would join others in labor, the Black caucus, liberal Whites, etc., and try to rearrange the priorities of this country and make the existing machinery work and function better.

My second responsibility, which may be my primary responsibility, is to continue to develop as best as I can this independent grouping that has been going on in this city for the last 25 years at least. That is a question of organizing locally politically so that people can really have the organization that can affect not just the federal but the state and local governments as well. It is an awesome task, made more difficult by Reagan's victory and by the people that Reagan will bring into office who will be the ones who will be running the various agencies of government. And that's the last comment I want to make on Mr. Reagan. It's not Mr. Reagan, it's his following. It is the people around him. It's the people who will set policies. It is the people who will sit in the offices to run the government. It is the people who will have to enforce housing and HUD laws, tenant laws, the people who will have to deal with the regulatory agencies and the people who will cut up the pie that the legislators have passed out. That's the danger of the Reagan movement.

"OUR PEOPLE"



Time to Clean House

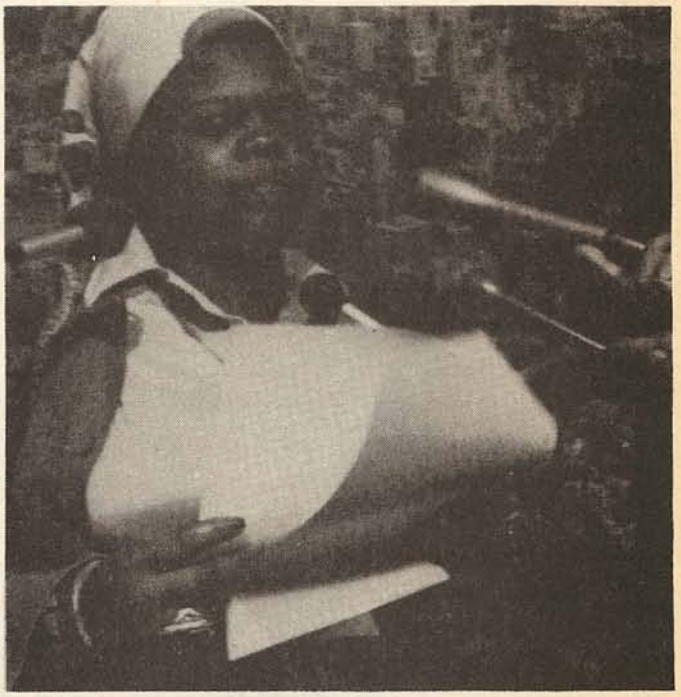
Speech made by Marion Stamps at the 6th Anniversary Celebration of the Tranquility-Marksman Memorial Organization, May 1, 1982.

—"Power concedes to no one. It never has, it never will." I think that it is only fitting and proper that I begin my brief comments with this quote from Frederick Douglas because it speaks to the heart of our theme, "Unity in the Community, a New Beginning."

It is clear to any progressive thinking person in this country that it is time for us to take control of our communities. The only way we're going to be able to do that is by demanding that a new social order take place. We must begin to enforce a code of conduct that everyone who lives in the community must adhere to — the youth, the adults, police, school teachers, businessmen — everybody must adhere to.

We can no longer make excuses as to why our people do the things that they do; why they sell us out, why they are killing us mentally. We can no longer allow people to take the lives of our babies without even telling us what that baby has done.

I'm not just talking about the so-called "Black on Black crime" in the community. I'm talking about the school teachers who are miseducating our children. I'm talking about the lady upstairs who sees a little baby about to get hit by a car and refuses to scream. I'm talking about the woman next door who hears somebody getting killed and will not pick up the telephone. I'm saying anybody in



our community who is not contributing to a positive force in our community we must deal with them. I'm saying that the T.L. Barrets, the Leon Finneys of the world, have got to be put in check. I'm saying it's time that we begin to make people accountable.

Do you all know, in the last three weeks I have been going to one or two funerals a week? And the funerals are for Black babies. I'm tired of that. But I don't blame the youth for that. I blame us, because when we raise our children to say that, "I don't want you in

We can no longer make excuses as to why our people do the things they do; why they sell us out, why they are killing us mentally.

We talk about the politicians, but you know what they do to us? They don't respect us. And you know why they don't respect us, because we do not respect ourselves.

the white projects because folks in the white projects are bad and I don't want you in the red projects because folks in the red projects are badder than folks in the white projects and we live in the row houses so we ain't so bad, and we live at Evergreen-Sedgwick and that makes us better," we create the kind of turf question that our children die for and don't have any control over.

I'm saying it is time for us to say to each other that we have a responsibility to save our babies and take control of our communities. It is time for us to stop letting these folks, these politicians sell us out. We see it happening everyday.

And I want to say something. I'm not a fan of George Dunne, I never have been. But, I have a certain amount of respect for George Dunne. When I saw these folks scratch their heads and bend their backs to put in this known gangster (Vrdolyak)—I ain't saying George Dunne ain't no gangster—maybe he's a little cooler with his stuff than this dude is—but I know Vrdolyak is a stone gangster. And not only is he a stone gangster, the man is an out and out "I ain't covering it up, I'm telling you, I'm telling you niggers, I don't like you all" racist. You understand?

When I saw these so-called Negro politicians trying to justify why they voted for Ed Vrdolyak, I said wait a minute, wait, wait—enough is enough. You see it's bad enough that they don't represent us in City Hall, but it becomes even worse when they will allow themselves to get into a situation that they could have plain passed. And the reason they do that is because we do not hold those folks accountable.

It is time, my friends, my brothers and sisters, to take control of our communities. That is our community. Nobody can tell me about where to go, when to go and how to go on the Near Northside. They can't even tell me that on the Southside. And I've had some folks say, "Well, you don't live in the projects, therefore you ain't got no business here."

Let me tell you something, if anybody's got business being in the projects it's me because if it had not been for the Chicago Housing Tenants Organization and community residents, they would have sold the projects. And I know they would have sold Cabrini-Green. If I had not been sitting there along with folks like Regina, Wilma, Nyna and them, raising hell constantly raising the question, we would not be on the Northside right now, and if we don't hold up and make a serious move, we will not be there next year.

Look at how these people are moving on us. The only way we can tell somebody to get their foot off our neck is to push them out of the way. You don't ask nobody "would you please take your foot off of my neck, cause it kind of hurts." You say "Hey, get up off of me." And I'm saying that based on what is happening right here in this city, it is time for us to say to folks, "Move over. Enough is enough."

We talk about our babies, what these young folks are doing. "The young folks are crazy, they're killing each other, they're doing this, they're doing that." We talk about Jane Byrne why she does what she does. She's crazy, she's insane, she's this, she's that. And I'm almost sure she's all of that and some. We talk about Jim Thompson. We talk about the politicians, but you know what they do to us? They don't respect us. And you know why they don't respect us, because we do not respect ourselves. You know why kids do what they do now? Because they have seen their mothers and their fathers allow folks to disrespect them.

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They stood up. They said 'Hey wait a minute, enough is enough. Before I be a slave, I'll be buried in my grave. Enough is enough." And I'm saying at this point in Chicago, enough is enough. It's time for us to clean house.

They watch the caseworker disrespect them. They watch the landlords disrespect them. They watch the school teachers disrespect them and, hell, by the time they're years old they don't know nothing but disrepect. They have decided in their own minds that somebody is going to respect them. And that's why they go off the way they go off. And then when we see them go off, we go running up in the house, locking doors that they can kick down, hiding up under beds. What are you hiding from your babies for? Those are your babies. I don't care whether you gave birth to them — they all are our children.

When we start treating them like they are our children and when we start saying to them, "Look here, the first thing you are going to learn is some respect and discipline. You take your choice how you want to learn it. You can either come here and sit down and let me talk to you like I know you can be talked to or you can take this fist upside your head, either way you choose you've got to become disciplined and respectful."

But before we can say that to the babies, my brothers and sisters, we better be prepared to deal with what we preach. Don't be telling them about being respectful and disciplined if you are not going to be the same way. I'm saying that in terms of Tranquility when we talk about unity in our community, we are going to develop a new social order. We're going to start off on the Northside, on the Southside I know CBUC's going to support us. I know Bob Lucas from the Kenwood Oakland Community Organization is going to support us. I know folks in the Uptown and Westtown are going to support us. I know that. I don't have a problem about saying that. I've worked with Slim Coleman since 1973 or 1974, and everytime I said, "Slim, it's time to make a move," me and Slim make a move. So I know that's going to happen.

If we don't do something politically in 1983 we can hang it up. We've got to vote, we've got to register to vote, but we cannot wait until November to start registering people to vote. We cannot begin to talk about a new social order in November. We've got to start doing that now — tomorrow. And we've got to start making people accountable to us. We got to start going to the city council meetings, and when Niles Sherman gets up there and plays out his granddaddy role, we're going to have to say to him, "Nigger, shut up and sit down." You understand what I'm saying? I'm telling you all what's real. I am mentally tired because it seems not too many folks in this town have any backbone. And like I said, I don't like cowards.

Do you know what would have happened to us if these elders right here had given up? You think we're all going through some changes. How many of you all had chains tied to your leg carrying a baby in your stomach, got one hanging on your dress, and you're picking 60 barrels of cotton everyday? You didn't have to do that. And you think we've got problems. They stood up. They said 'Hey wait a minute, enough is enough. Before I be a slave, I'll be buried in my grave. Enough is enough." And I'm saying at this point in Chicago, enough is enough. It's time for us to clean house. ■

The Invisible People

A series written by Slim Coleman for All Chicago City News.

Part I

I have been persuaded to write this series because no one else seems to be writing it, or saying it very loudly, and it needs to be said. "It" is about the invisible people—the Whites of the poorer classes.

Two factors in our society are the very foundation of social and economic injustice: the first is the acceptance by the majority of racial discrimination, the second is the institutionalized invisibility of the poorer classes of Whites.

Acceptance by the majority of racial discrimination makes it possible for an advanced technological society to allow 40 percent of Black youth to go unemployed and for hundreds of thousands of people to be asked to survive on welfare checks that will simply not pay the rent and buy food too. And yet it is the invisibility of the poorer classes of Whites that allows an equal number of Whites to go unemployed and an equal number of Whites to be asked to survive on welfare checks that are less than 40 percent of what the government calls the "poverty level."

It is the shame of this country that the great mass of Black people have collectively fought for their cause, and still the country has elected a president who openly opposes affirmative action and laws which prohibit racial discrimination, for example, in the schools and colleges of this country. But the poor White has not even become an issue. The millions of poor Whites who suffer poor education, substandard housing, lack of job opportunity and no access to adequate health care are not a recognized reality in this society. The poor White even appears only occasionally on TV: a fleeting drifter on soap operas where doctors and lawyers make up the majority of the characters.

One can easily see how a society which explained poverty to itself by racism would be unwilling to admit to the existence of millions of Whites who are poor. The existence of masses of poor Whites in this country is a threat to the image of America as a middle class society—at least for everybody but Blacks and Latinos—and this image is the glue that holds together the platforms of our political parties and the justifications for the chaotic economic organization of this country.

The invisibility of the poor White has created an identity crisis. Does the low-income Polish family have more in common with the middle-class Polish leadership or with Blacks and Latinos of their own economic class? The Polish leadership says, "You are one of us; vote with us; vote for us." And Black leadership often says, "You are one of them." The poor White is forced to identify with a middle-class white culture that does not even want to admit that he exists.

The predicament of the poor White is nowhere more difficult than in Chicago. The pattern of urban renewal—urban removal—has dispersed the poorer classes of Whites into powerless pockets of poverty in 20 neighborhoods or more. And Chicago's hard ball brand of ethnic politics guarantees both the invisibility and the powerlessness of the poor White because those who speak for low-

Continued on next page.

Two factors in our society are the very foundation of social and economic injustice: the first is the acceptance by the majority of racial discrimination, the second is the institutionalized invisibility of the poorer classes of Whites.

income White families in the White community never represent them, never even admit that they exist.

The class of poor Whites is growing. Steel workers and auto workers, replaced by automation and by fancy mergers, are not finding other jobs. The so-called "middle class" blue collar worker of yesterday and today is the poor White of today and tomorrow. Perhaps these new members in the invisible club will forge a new identity for it and force its recognition. Perhaps they will ally with the Black and Latino communities.

One group of poor Whites, "Appalachian" Whites, have been given some recognition since the early 1960s. But they were only recognized when they stayed "back in the hollers," and starved. And that is the subject of the next part of this series.

Part II

Twice in the last few weeks national media people have come to me to get help in doing stories about "Appalachian Whites." Why has there continued an interest in this one group of poor Whites, while poor Whites as a whole have been ignored? It dates back to President Kennedy and the War on Poverty in 1960.

The Democratic Party was looking to expand its political base, to pick up new voters. Suddenly, the Democratic Party "discovered" that there were "poor Whites," families living in desperate poverty. It was a little like Columbus discovering America, which had been there all along.

After discovering the poor Whites of West Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee and giving them a new name, "the Appalachian Whites," the system created the image that these people were a special case. They didn't really live in states like other people, they lived in a strange never-never land called Appalachia which had somehow not progressed with the rest of the country. They were throwbacks, men and women who lived in dark forgotten hollers, practiced "old ways," were uneducated, fought feuds with each other, were very poor because they were basically ignorant and needed taking care of, but basically liked being "dumb hillbillies." In short, the media and the government drew up a picture of "a people that progress had passed by," located in a few isolated hollers, and then they said these were the only low-income White people in the country.

The fact is that not only were the families of the mountain regions a small section of the poorer classes of White people in this coun-

try, but the official picture fit them about as well as a horseshoe fits a man's foot. Progress had not passed the people by; they were the victims of progress in the form of the coal mining industry and the textile industry. These industries, paying low wages for work that crippled, sickened and often killed the workers, had become multi-billion dollar businesses, while the people of the region grew poorer and poorer.

While there were conflicts between poor Whites in this region, as there are always conflicts between oppressed people, the fights for equality and justice from the Molly Maguires to the United Mine Workers were among the bravest and most courageous in the country's history and were met with the most brutal repression.

Because of their courage, young men of this region were the first sacrificed in World War II, Korea and Vietnam, where they fought alongside Black men from the South. They were driven out of the region by landgrabbing stripminers, by automation and by hunger. They came to the Midwestern cities, up Highway 41, where they joined thousands of other Southern Whites driven from the land in Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Georgia and Texas by big Agribusiness. And in the cities the Southern Whites worked the dirty, hard, unskilled and semi-skilled factory jobs until those factories automated and moved to the Sunbelt. Now they are among the unemployed and marginally employed, those who live by their wits.

Progress had not passed the Southern White by. The progress of American business had attempted to chew us up and spit us out. The poor Southern White culture was not "a cute, backward, picturesque culture." In fact, country music, along with the blues which it

While fighting to maintain a proud culture, we are finding new allies. The "Great Invisibility Conspiracy" defies reality and is doomed to backfire.

Anger at injustice is replacing the shame propagated by the politicians. It may be that the "invisible people" among the ethnic Whites will not much longer be hidden.

is closely allied to, are now the dominant musical traditions of the nation.

The media people trying to do stories on "Appalachian Whites" in the city came to me because they were told by the city officials that "no Appalachian Whites live in Chicago anymore." Having dug the coal which powered the nation and worked the factories which made the nation's cities great, they now officially do not exist!

Of course the city officials were wrong. There were no jobs "back South." Southern Whites have been dispersed from communities like Uptown, where we were the majority, to dozens of other communities throughout the city. But those who remain in communities like Uptown and those dispersed to other communities learned important lessons. We learned that our enemies often had white skins and tried to talk like good old boys—on their way to the bank. While fighting to maintain a proud culture, we are finding new allies. The "Great Invisibility Conspiracy" defies reality and is doomed to backfire.

Part III

Perhaps the most "invisible" of all poor Whites are the poorer classes of the so-called "ethnic" Whites. The term ethnic Whites, used by social scientists and the media, refers to the people who immigrated to the cities of America in the late 1800s and throughout this century from Ireland and Eastern Europe. They were mostly workers and small farmers who came to this country for economic reasons. They were treated badly. They were the immigrants, ridiculed for their customs and language, last hired and first fired.

The ethnic Whites, especially the Irish and the Poles, found a formula for survival in the cities: neighborhood political power. Because of the common language, customs—and faced with a common discrimination—they easily achieved unity and strong political organization in the neighborhoods. With political organization came political power and political jobs.

Because their best opportunities seem to lay with political employment, these groups became super-patriots because that was the quickest way to dispell the distrust that powerful businessmen had for these low-income, propertyless immigrants. They had to prove that you could be Polish or Irish and be just as "American as apple pie."

Still, in the factories, on the trucks, in the warehouses, the men and women of these communities were some of the most militant in the fight against the bosses. They were strong union leaders. They lashed out at the same businessmen on the job who controlled the political bosses they followed in the neighborhoods. Why? Because the best opportunities were political opportunities. The factory worker hoped his children could get an education and get out of the factory. And the best way to do that was to have political connections.

The Irish and Polish political leaders branded the militant workers as troublemakers because the militants threatened their political success, their sweetheart deal with the bankers and businessmen who controlled the city. These same leaders also fought hard to keep Blacks and Latinos out of their districts, worried that their solid political base would be weakened. They organized racism on a daily basis.

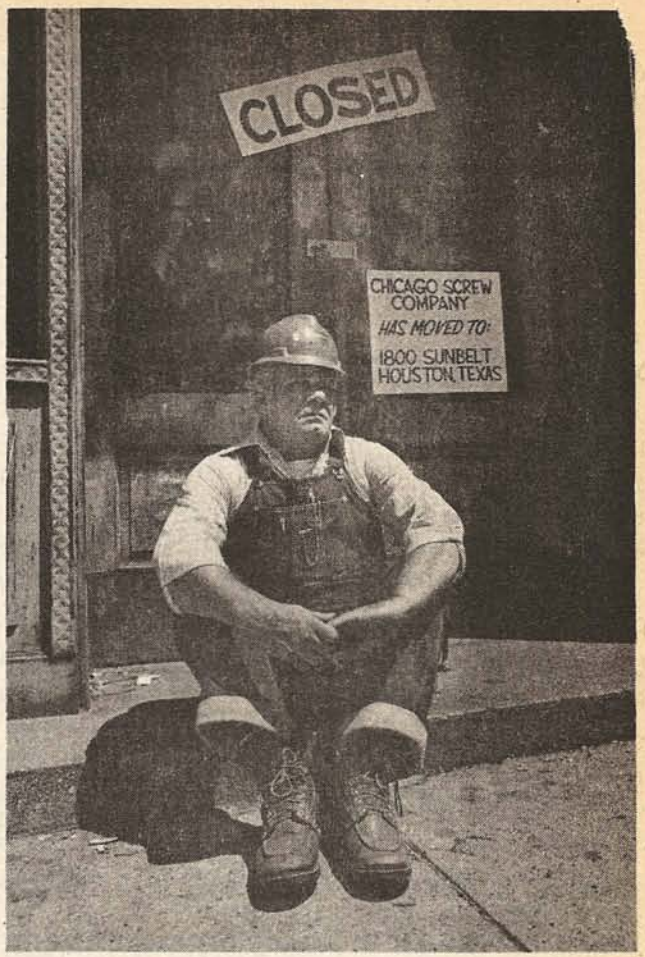
The reality is, of course, that there are not

that many political jobs. Except in a few cases such as the 11th Ward in Chicago where the Daley machine used to hand out the bulk of the jobs to the 11th Ward Irish, there were only a few of these precious jobs to go around. It was not really the job, but the hope of a political job that was used to keep the "ethnic Whites" in line.

This situation led the low-income Irish or Polish worker to hide his poverty, rather than fight collectively to change his conditions. The leadership of these communities propagated the idea that "only the lazy and shiftless are poor," so that it became a shame to be poor. The worker who by his nature should have been proud that he did the labor that built the city and angry that he or she shared little of the fruits of their labor, was forced in many cases by community pressure to be ashamed that they had "only a little of the good things in life."

As a result, hundreds of thousands of poor Polish, Irish and other "ethnic" Whites are kept invisible by their own communities, their own families, and sometimes by their own shame. Those with the political jobs continue today to carry on the tradition. But the majority of blue collar, hardworking men and women are facing harder and harder times as factories and other employers close up and move out of town. It is hard to convince a man that he should be ashamed when he has worked for 30 or 40 years for the same company and now has no job.

Anger at injustice is replacing the shame propagated by the politicians. It may be that the "invisible people" among the ethnic Whites will not much longer be hidden.



The program of unity, self-respect and consciousness of racism is putting a wrench in the works of the institutionalized invisibility of the poorer classes of Whites.

Part IV

In the first three parts of this series we have been talking about the large number of low-income White people that are kept invisible in this country through a variety of different means. This "invisible" condition has many effects on us and puts us in strange situations which take some time, and some thought, to undersand. One such situation, in which hundreds of thousands of low-income Whites find themselves is life in the central cities of the Northeast and Midwest.

In general, these are, or are quickly becoming, Black and Latino majority cities. The attitude especially of our present federal government is simply to write these cities off.

The rest of the country agrees to the write off — is now agreeing — because of the great racism in this country that says, "Justice is more of a right for some than for others," and "If you're White you're alright, if you're Black get back." The low-income Whites therefore find themselves the victims of policies that are justified by racism towards Blacks and Latinos.

Nowhere is this clearer than with the case of the several thousand Whites who live in Chicago public housing. Whites live in four or five of the smaller developments, in the scattered sites, and utilize the public housing subsidy program for leases in private housing. It would be difficult for the federal government —or the city government — to justify the terrible conditions in public housing if all the residents were White. Racism makes it an acceptable reality for those who own and rule. But the low-income White people in public housing live with the same falling down ceilings, rats, roaches, lack of repairs and bureaucratic disorganization as everybody else. Some try to leave, but there is really no place to go anymore.

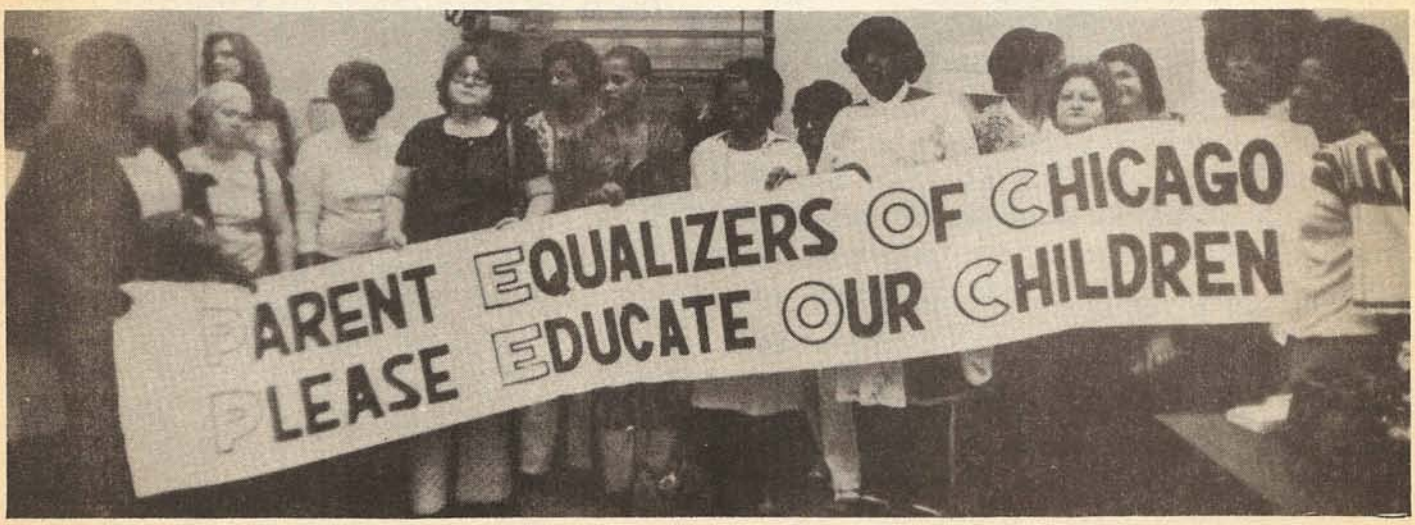
A similar situation exists in other institutions in the city. Public education could not be so underfunded and mismanaged in this country's big cities if the school systems were not majority Black and Latino. Public transportation in the neighborhoods, and city services, generally, could not be allowed to be so poorly funded and run, and public health care could not have been the inadequate disgrace it has become if it were not for the predominant color of those who must use it and the racism in the society at large.

So the poor and low-income working Whites find themselves in a strange situation. The economy no longer makes it possible to get out. The only possible solution has turned the table on the history of the racial division of poor and working people in this country.

White public housing tenants are joining everywhere with Black tenants to fight for improved conditions. Some — but not all — White parents are joining with Black and Latino parents to fight for improved education. And in these new alliances, old fears are being displaced and new principles developed.

The program for Whites trapped in the cities is becoming clear. It is first a program of unity with those who suffer from common oppression. Second, it is a program of self-respect and pride in the history and culture of White working people. And third, it is a program of understanding the ugly realities of American racism that hold back a great popular reaction to the conditions millions of people are forced to live in.

The "invisible people" in the cities, are in a few cases, beginning to find a way to declare publicly their reality and fight to improve it. The program of unity, self-respect and consciousness of racism is putting a wrench in the works of the institutionalized invisibility of the poorer classes of Whites.



When the curtain is raised and the poorer classes of Whites become visible to themselves, they will find their people.

Conclusion

As the saying goes, "No man is an island," and no where is this better understood than by those at the bottom half of the society. The person of poorer income, struggling to survive, knows what the riches of the wealthier people keep them from knowing: that no one really "makes it on their own"; that we all survive only because of the unity of our people.

But for Whites from the poorer classes the question "who are my people" is not always easy to answer. And that is because the Whites of the poorer classes, in spite of their great numbers in this society, are not supposed to exist, are kept invisible.

"Who are my people?" There is the answer given by the pretenders. They pretend that they are only "temporarily poor." "Any day now," they say, "I am going to make it big. My people are the **successful** people." The pretenders have been brought to believe that "if you're White you're all right," and they are sure that it is only a matter of time before they get what God intended for them to get.

Then there is the answer given by the "company men". The company man says that he has always worked hard, always pulled his weight, always been responsible, and always done a good job for the boss. President Reagan is "his" President, the war in Vietnam was "his" war, and International Harvester is "his" company. The company man believes that there is equal opportunity for all White people and that he just didn't make it too well because he's not that qualified. After all, **most** Whites are doing well. His ancestors were indentured servants, and he's still an indentured servant. He just doesn't know it.

Underneath the surface, the great pretenders and the company men are bitter people. They really feel they have no people. They are turned in on themselves, thinking there is something wrong with them, thinking they must have some shortcoming that makes them different from other Whites who are making it. And in some men and women the bitterness comes out.

The bitterest Whites become outlaws. They are proud, but their pride separates them from others, from the pretenders and the company men. They prey on them. They become criminals and come to think like criminals. They are processed through the hungry beast that goes from the police to the courts to the prisons to the parole officer and back to the police and the courts.

It is impossible to maintain human integrity in a life based on preying on the misfortunes of other human beings. Often bitterness replaces integrity, cynicism replaces humanity, and "his people" shrink to one — or less than one.

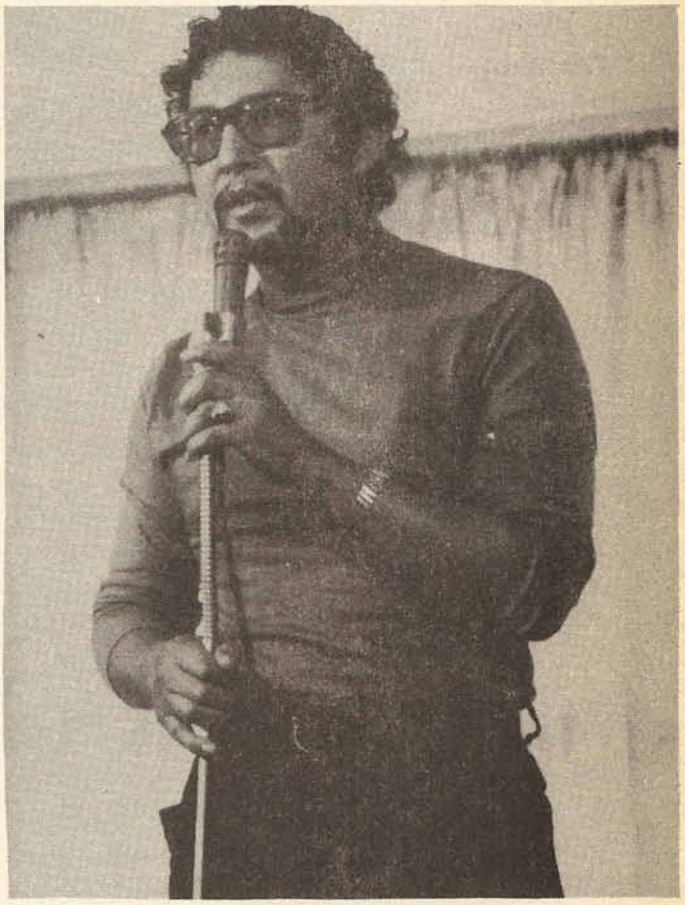
It is the calculated invisibility of Whites from the poorer classes that makes it so difficult to define "our people." In reality there are millions — over 40 percent of the country. What defines the poorer Whites is a relation to the economics and politics of society. It is a relationship of exploitation and exclusion. It is the relationship of a class, not a race. And while Whites have a proud culture of struggle, they have a common class with many who are not White and have a different culture of struggle.

When the curtain is raised and the poorer classes of Whites become visible to themselves, they will find their people. They will come to say as a White man, Eugene Debs, said sixty-five years ago: "Years ago I recognized my kinship with all living beings, and I made up my mind that I was not one bit better than the meanest on the earth. I said then, I say now, that while there is a lower class I am in it; while there is a criminal element, I am of it; while there is a soul in prison, I am not free..." ■

"The Latin Americans"

By Arturo Vasquez

This article will review the conditions of the Latin American people inside the United States. We shall first of all describe who the Latin Americans are and then move on to talk about why they are here and why they continue to come. In order to understand the reasons for the problems that Latin Americans are facing in the United States we have to understand the relationships of the Latin American people to the economic system of the United States, their relationship with other peoples in the United States and the result of those relationships in terms of the problems that the Latin American people are facing—key among them are the problems of unemployment, lack of good education and displacement from their communities. The last part of the article will then address the Latin American people as an emerging reality in the United States and finally, the positive aspects which the Latin Americans bring to an emerging reality of political struggle.



Latin Americans can't all be lumped together as one people because there are different nationalities among them. The majority population of Latin Americans are the Mexican and Puerto Rican nationalities. Increasingly, however, from the mid-70s onward, the number of Central Americans and South Americans is increasing due to the economic and political conditions that have taken hold of Central and South America. The Mexican population has tended to be concentrated in two areas of the country: the Southwest and the Midwest.

The Midwest population is of more recent origin than the Southwestern, having been established largely in the 20th century. Puerto Ricans have tended to be concentrated along the Eastern seaboard, but they also have established large populations in the Midwest and have moved further to the West.

The Cuban population, which is sizeable in the United States, came after the seizure of power by the liberation forces in Cuba and the nationalization of the major industries. As such they represent a substantially different population in terms of background in the United States. They have been joined by South Americans, who largely have come from the upper and middle upper class. Thus, there is a class differentiation almost by nationality in the Latin American community. The census data does not reveal this clearly. It indicates that some 25 percent of

the Latin American population would fall within the White Collar, (the professional and managerial) classes. However, lumping all Hispanics together hides the fact that South Americans and Cubans tend to be in the upper occupational categories, while Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and Central Americans generally tend to be from the operatives category on down. The Latin American women are at the very bottom of the occupational and income ladder. The Latin American woman earns the lowest wages in the entire United States. Again the majority of these tend to be Mexican, Puerto Rican and Central American.

Along with their Black brothers, the Latin American people have one of the highest umemployment rates (both official and adjusted) in the entire country. If all these data were to include the large numbers of undocumented persons from Central, South Americas and Mexico into the figures, all the data would be skewed downwards, and income levels would drop, unemployment levels would rise. In terms of earnings, once again, the data hides the vast differences between Cuban and South American earnings and Mexican earnings and Puerto Rican earnings, with the Puerto Ricans earning the lowest average income among the Latin American populations.

Why Are They Coming?

There has been a myth that the Latin American peoples are the latest immigrants along with Asians and others.However, it should be recalled that a significant portion of what is now the Southwest part of the United States formerly belonged to Mexico, that it was a Latin American territory. This territory was taken by conquest in the War of 1846 for the conquest of Mexican territories, and in 1848 in the Treaty of Guadalupe Largo, negotiating at the point of a gun, the Mexican government was forced to cede the states of California, New Mexico, Arizona, parts of Colorado and Utah and all of Texas.

Over 200,000 Mexican citizens became conquered peoples in the new territories and began systematically to be dispossessed of their land and turned into cheap labor to work on lands that were formerly theirs. Since that time, the Mexican population has increased in the United States by means of natural birth and immigration.

The first wave of immigrants into the United States came as a result of North American investments in Mexico. With the Guggenheim investments in the railroads building from the border down to Central Mexico, and the investments in the mines and countryside of Mexico, many Mexicans were forced off the land to cities where there was a high rate of unemployment. They then hopped the railroads and began to travel into the United States. During this wave of immigration, which was roughly from 1880 to 1910, Mexicans worked on railroads and in agriculture.

The second wave of immigration came largely as a result of the reaction to the exploitation of the campesinos by the Mexican wealthy class in conjunction with North American and foreign investors. This was the revolutionary war that took place in Mexico, which liberated many campesinos off the countryside. They then came across the border in large numbers into the United States to begin working again in railroads, mining and agriculture. This wave of immigration continued from 1910 to 1930. Mexicans constituted, in many cases, 60 percent of the track laborers, a large portion of the mining forces in Arizona and New Mexico and over 65 percent of the agricultural work force in Calfornia. When the economy fell in 1930, immigration stopped, and a wave of deportations began occurring. The government wanted to scape goat the Mexican immigrants for having taken jobs. But immigration proceeded again after1940, when once again the government established the bracero program to bring 500,000 Mexican workers a year into the United States.

However, for every one worker brought across the border in the bracero program, 20 to 25 workers came across the border without documents to work in the United States.

Continued on next page.

The reception which Latin Americans have received over the last century from the U.S.government and other sectors of society has been uniformly negative.

Employers preferred to hire the undocumented workers rather than the workers that were brought in under the bracero program because they could get them without having to guarantee them any benefits, health care or decent housing.

The Puerto Rican migration began to occur largely during the 1930s when the depression hit Puerto Rico so hard that literally thousands were starving in the countryside where American corporations had taken over thousands and thousands of acres of the best farmland in order to plant sugar for the world market. The sugar investors decided not to produce during the 30s, and therefore thousands of Puerto Ricans who had worked those sugar plantations were unemployed and suffered severe health problems due to unemployment and poverty.

Puerto Ricans began to come to the United States as contract labor during the 30s to work as migrant workers in agriculture and gradually filtered into the cities in Massachusetts, Connecticut and New York. At present they are over one million strong in New York.

The second wave of Puerto Rican migration occurred after World War II when the colonial government of Puerto Rico initiated a so-called industrialization process in Puerto Rico and totally neglected the countryside. Thus, hundreds of thousands of campesinos were forced into the cities to look for work where work was not to be found. From there they migrated to New York and began to filter across into areas like Chicago and even further west where there already were Latin American populations, thus mingling with the Mexican and other Central American populations.

The migration of Latin Americans from Central America and South America is large ly the result of economic domination of those countries by the U.S. and other foreign interests, during the last two decades, which has made life unliveable for the masses in those countries. Therefore, with the revolutionary movements that are occurring in Latin America and the repressive action on the part of those governments to try to stop these revolutionary movements, conditions have deteriorated to such an extent that literally hundreds of thousands of Latin Americans from those areas are coming into the United States from Chile, Nicaragua, El Salvador and other countries.

The reception which Latin Americans have received over the last century from the part of the U.S. government and other sectors of society has been uniformly negative. The attitudes toward Latin America have always been racist, in the popular press as well as in the social science literature attempting to deal with the Latin American peoples.

The first, of course, to suffer the racism were the Mexican people, but as others came into the United States, the racism of the larger society also affected them, and they found themselves at the very bottom of the economic ladder with areas of mobility closed to them as a result of skin color and nationality.

Latin Americans have been placed on the margins of the society in a situation where they can be exploited as cheap labor, given the least benefits in the society and rejected from employment and from the country when the economic conditions took a down turn and the government needed a scape goat.

Thus it has been the function of the immi-

Therefore, the Latin American people will move to eliminate the inequalities in this society along with progressive Black and White people fighting to create a society in which all of us can live.

gration laws and the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) to perform the tasks of the regulation of labor coming in and out of the country—letting the Latin American worker into the country when there was a need for cheap labor and throwing them out when the unemployment rate began to increase. This policy has created a contradiction within the United States, and that contradiction is the undocumented worker. The undocumented worker is a contradiction because North American industries need his labor on the one hand and on the other hand the government wants to use the undocumented worker as a scape goat for the ills of unemployment.

The undocumented worker is a further contradiction because his presence in the United States is largely the result of a corporate presence in the Latin American countries which intensifies exploitation in those countries, increases the repressive actions of the military governments of those countries and takes large amounts of capital from those countries which could be used to improve the lot of the people.

The Dual Labor Market and the Latin Americans

Latin Americans find themselves largely employed in that segment of the economic structure in the United States which we called the labor intensive marginal industry sector of the economy.

In this sector the Latin Americans find themselves employed along with Black people, Asians, American Indians and poor Whites. There is cyclical employment low wages, little opportunity for advancement, few benefits. The implications of this, of course, are that there are income constraints to the purchase of the things necessary to live such as housing, food, education, etc. which forces Latin Americans as well as Black people and poor White people to live in barrios, ghettos and slums.

Politicians and the power structure withhold the educational services necessary for people to advance, and so, education, which is a way of reproducing the work force, and providing for mobility, if it's provided adequately, is withheld from Latin Americans as it is from Black people and poor White people. And therefore the young people are not educated sufficiently enough to improve their lot and move up in the society, and therefore they continue to work in factories, collect welfare or to be out in the streets hustling.

The government's attempts to deal with unemployment has been to develop programs that, in fact, blame the victim, because they are based upon the so-called human capital deficiency model which says that the reason the people—Latin American people— are not employed or employable is because: they don't speak english; they don't have the training; and they come from families that don't provide them with the necessary adjustments to the larger society's requirements.

It is a sector which has largely been influenced by factory movings. For example, in Chicago many Latin Americans worked in factories that have simply picked up and left and gone to Mexico or to other parts of the world. But we've had the experience of Mexicans working in a factory here in Chicago, when the factory has left they've gone back to Mexico along the border and have encountered that same factory and have gone to work down there at three quarters of the wages than they had received in Chicago. So we have here the same situation of undocumented people coming to Chicago to work and undocumented factories going to Mexico in order to take advantage of the low wages there.

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The lower segment of this dual labor market is not just within the borders of the United States, but extends into Mexico, Puerto Rico, other parts of Central America and even overseas, because all that money and all those products that are created by those factories eventually come back into the United States.

The undocumented worker then tends to find employment in these areas of work and thus competes for these jobs within the legal sector of the Latin American population as well as the Blacks, and poor Whites. However, the Latino community has been very protective of the undocumented worker, does not feel threatened or in competition for the most part with the undocumented worker and has, in fact, defended the undocumented worker's rights to remain and to work, as indicated by the massive response that was made to the latest wave of raids and deportations that were carried out by the INS.

Many unions have also decided that it is better to offer the undocumented worker union protection rather than to try to depend upon chauvinism and racism in dealing with the question. And therefore, many unions are now organizing the undocumented worker, offering them contract protection and including in their contracts the fact that the employer has to notify the union officials prior to allowing the INS to come into the factories. Secondly, they can only allow the INS into the factories if they have specific warrants for specific people.

Unemployment as an indicator of the future

Unemployment will not go down in the future given the fact that the number of jobs that need to be created merely to keep pace with the population entering into the labor market through natural increase is in the area of 36 million by 1985, and the U.S. economy is not able to produce even half of those jobs. So we can expect to see many more repressive activities not only directed against the Latin American peoples but also against our Black brothers, our Indian Brothers and our poor White brothers and the working people across this country.

The Latino workers are an emerging reality in the United States tied to increasing "fight back" activities that are going on on the part of the working people across this country.

The Latin American workers became an urban people. They have tended to become very much involved in union activity. Many come to this country already having participated in very militant unions and as they integrate themselves into the unions have become an increasing part of the leadership and an increasing part of the increasing militancy of these unions.

They are organizing in their communities and are creating organizations across this country to protect the rights of the Latin American peoples. are a growing political power as they enter into coalitions.

Increasingly, these layers of organizations are turning to alliances with Black people and with progressive White people, Indian people, Asian people and beginning to develop a progressive move because that is the only direction which they can take if they wish to genuinely represent the interests of the majority of the Latin American people.

However, it is important for progressives and for Black people to discern the class and nationality differences among Latin Americans. Just as it is for Latin Americans to discern these differences among the Blacks and White people in the United States.

Some nationalities are almost totally in the upper classes, and represent those interests. The vast majority of Latin Americans organizations in the country, however, are moving into the "fight back" against the Reagan administration's program of removing social benefits and the gains which the labor movement has made for the majority of the people.

There is no other way for the Latin American people to go. They are, in fact, 95 percent working class—lower middle to poor in income. They do not have political power. Therefore, the Latin American people will move to eliminate the inequities in this society along with progressive Black and White people fighting to create a society in which all of us can live.■

Exclusive

Community Demands Removal of Police Commander

Mollison Boycott

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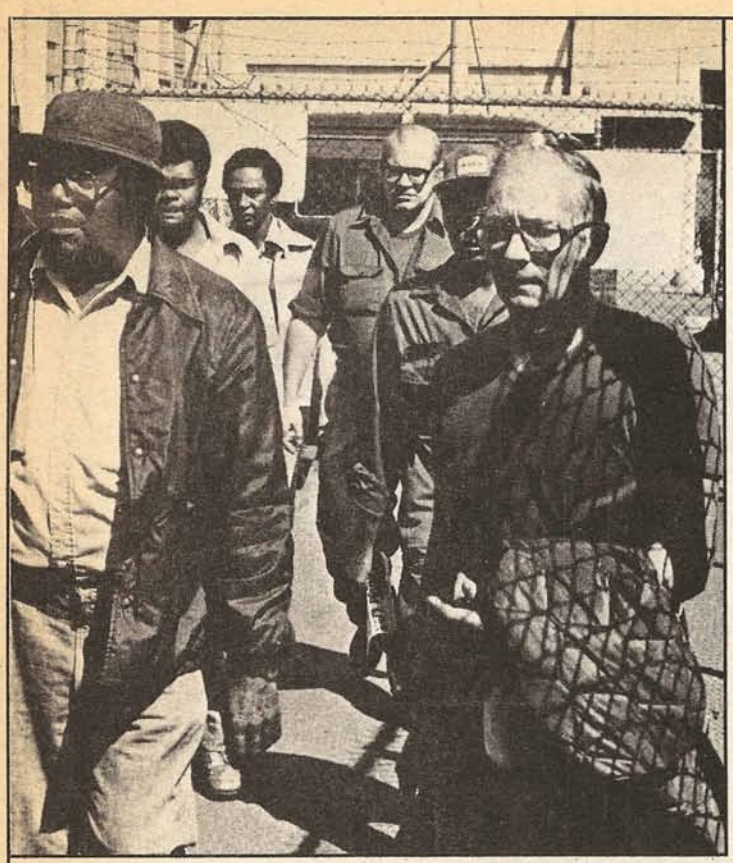

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***or call* (312) 275-3822**

All Chicago Community Summer Congress

—Registration Form—

1. *I would like to participate in the following platform committee meetings:*

- ☐ **Education**
- ☐ **Housing**
- ☐ **Employment and economic development**
- ☐ **Police and Crime**
- ☐ **Health Care**

2. *I would like to informed of the time and place of the following events in the summer congress:*

- ☐ **Ward Assemblies**
- ☐ **August Debates**
- ☐ **General Assembly**

3. ☐ *I would like to help register people in my community, church or organization. Please send me registration information.*

4. ☐ *I would like to contribute money to help pay for the costs of the Summer Congress. (Checks should be made out to "ALL CHICAGO COMMUNITY SUMMER CONGRESS.")*

Name _____

Address _____

Phone _____

A registration fee of $1.00 should be included with this form and sent to

All Chicago Community Summer Congress
1222 W. Wilson Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60640

Build A Strong Chicago Community Consensus!

Join In The

All Chicago Community Summer Congress

"**1983 WITH JUSTICE** is the watchword for the All Chicago Community Summer Congress to be convened through June, July and August by ***All Chicago City News*** and ***Keep Strong Magazine.*** The purpose of the Congress is to develop a city-wide consensus among Chicago communities on the platform and programs ***we*** want the Mayor of Chicago and the city council to represent and implement. We are going to set a general standard to judge the candidates by in 1983 so that no one will be fooled by empty promises, well financed media campaigns or a flurry of festivals while our communities and our very survival become increasingly threatened."

JUNE: **Platform Committee Meetings On:**

- **HOUSING**
- **EDUCATION**
- **EMPLOYMENT**
- **HEALTH CARE**
- **POLICE**

JULY: **Ward Assemblies**

AUGUST: **Public Debates On The Issues**

AUGUST 28th: **GENERAL ASSEMBLY**

For Registration Information Call 275-3822

OR

Fill out the registration form on the inside back cover of this issue of KEEP STRONG MAGAZINE

Build A Strong Chicago Community Consensus!